













## CALCUTTA REVIEW

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ART. I.—*A Lady's Voyage round the World. A Selected Translation from the German of Ida Pfeiffer. By Mrs. Percy Sinnett. London, 1851.*

IT were to do as much injustice to our readers as to Mrs. Pfeiffer to suppose that they are unacquainted with her name, or with the fact that she is a very remarkable woman, who, leaving the beaten tracks of fair tourists, and abandoning the courses pricked out on satin-paper charts by delicate yacht voyagers, adventured boldly forth on the stern realities of foreign travel, and unescorted, save by those whom casual meetings and their natural good nature or gallantry enlisted as her escort from time to time, and unprotected, save by her own matronly propriety and good sense, (aided by a pair of double-barrelled pistols), traversed as large a portion of our globe as it has ever fallen to the lot of a single person, with very few exceptions, to peregrinate. It is with no little respect that, in these days of Berlin wool and *the accomplishments*, we are disposed to regard such a lady; and with no little indulgence should we be disposed to pass over any slight inaccuracies that her book might contain. Truly gratifying would it be to our instincts of gallantry, were we able to hold up the record of her adventures as a model to be studied by all future travellers, and to say to them, "In proportion as you approach to the accuracy of her observations, and to the vividness of her descriptions, you will gain the commendation of those whose commendation is desirable, and the no less desirable censure of those whose tastes are depraved." Storn truth will not allow us thus to gratify these instincts. But still the little volumes before us contain much that is interesting, and not a little from which students, albeit not gifted with the alchemical lore necessary to perform the problem of extracting sunbeams from cucumbers, may derive instruction.

With Mrs. Pfeiffer's history we are not acquainted, further than as it is developed in the volumes before us. It appears that she was born in the last century;—that in her childhood she had a great love of seeing all that was visible;—that in her youth she made the ordinary tours in company with her parents;—that she was married, and lived a domestic life; that after this was,

by the removal of her sons to public schools, relieved from the charge of watching over them, the desire of seeing the world came back upon her with increased strength ;—that she visited Palestine and other countries,—and at last adventured upon this great *periplus*, which forms the subject of the volumes now before us.

A journey round the world may mean almost any thing, inasmuch as upon a globe any circle, larger or smaller, may be traced ; and every such circle may strictly be said to be traced *round* the globe. The circle round which a mill-horse paces his weary round is a circle traced upon the sphere—“a girdle placed round the earth,” no less than the equator, or a meridian, or any great circle of the sphere. In one sense therefore every person who departs from his home for a constitutional walk, and returns by a different road from that by which he set forth, may be truly said to go round the world. But it is not in this sense that Mrs. Pfeiffer performed *her* journey round the world, as will appear when we indicate her route. She sailed from Hamburg to Rio Janeiro—rounded Cape Horn and arrived at Valparaiso. Sailed thence to Tahiti—thence to China, Singapore, Ceylon, Calcutta. Made an overland journey to Delhi, and from Delhi to Bombay ; from Bombay by sea to Muscat, from Muscat to Bagdad ; visited the ruins of Babylon, Mossul and Nineveh ; passed over into Persia ; passed through Armenia and Georgia to Odessa—thence to Constantinople—thence to Greece—and back to Fatherland. Thus it appears that it was in no jocular sense, but in sound downright earnest that this voyage round the world was accomplished. The journey occupied exactly sixteen months, viz., from the 29th June, 1846, to the 29th October, 1847 ; during which time our wanderer truly

Mores hominum multorum vidit et urbes ;—

was in various circumstances that might have tried masculine nerves, and retained throughout a calm subdued enthusiasm, sustained apparently by no very earnest desire after any of the pursuits that generally urge on men to travel, but simply by the desire to see with her own eyes, and to be able to say with her own tongue, and write with her own pen, “I have seen.”

We intend to confine our notice of this book to that part of it which relates to India ; but we cannot deny ourselves the gratification of extracting the record of Mrs. Pfeiffer’s prowess in very trying circumstances that befel her in Brazil. We have already stated that our authoress began her sojourn in this world during the currency of the last century, and that she began this

*voyage round* it on the 29th of June, 1846; she was therefore as old as the century at the least, and how much more we have no means of ascertaining. Having two months to spend in Brazil, she resolved to pay a visit to a colony of her countrymen, established at a place called Petropolis, within a short distance of Rio de Janeiro. A Count Berchtold, who had been her shipmate from Hamburg, agreed to accompany her. In seven hours from Rio they reached Porto d' Estrella: and now we must let her tell her own story:—

From Porto d'Estrella to Petropolis we had still seven leagues. The distance is usually done on mules, for which you pay four *milreis* a piece; but since we had been told in Rio de Janeiro that there was a most beautiful walk to it through the woods, quite frequented and safe, as it formed the principal communication with Minas Geraes, we resolved to travel it on foot, and for this we had also another inducement, as the Count wanted to botanise, and I to collect insects. The two first leagues led through a broad valley, for the most part covered with thick underwood and young trees, and surrounded by lofty mountains. The path was beautifully adorned on either side by wild pine-apples, not yet quite ripe, but of a glowing rose colour; but unluckily they are not quite so good as they look, and are therefore very seldom plucked. I was delighted too with the humming birds, of which I saw several of the smallest species. Nothing can be imagined more delicate and graceful than these little creatures. They get their food out of the cups of flowers, hovering about them like butterflies, for which, indeed, they may be easily mistaken. The trees rather disappointed me, for I had expected to find those of a primeval forest with thick and lofty trunks, but this was not at all the case. Probably the vegetation is too strong, and the large trunks are choked and rotted beneath the mass of smaller trees, shrubs, climbing and parasite plants. The two latter are so numerous and exuberant that they often completely cover the trees, hiding not only the trunks but the very leaves. We had made a rich harvest of flowers, plants, and insects, and were quietly pursuing our way, enchanted by the rich woods and the glorious prospects that opened to us from time to time over mountain and valley, sea and bay, even to the very capital itself; and the frequent troops of negroes, as well as other pedestrians, which we now met, freed us from any fear respecting the safety of the road, so that we took little notice of a Negro who had been for some time following us, when, all at once, as we reached a rather lonely spot, he sprang upon us. He had in one hand a long knife, and in the other a lasso, and he signified, by sufficiently expressive gestures, that it was his intention to murder us and drag us into the wood.

We had no weapon with us, as it had not been thought necessary, and had nothing to defend ourselves with but our umbrellas. In my pocket, however, I had a penknife, which I managed to draw, firmly resolved to sell my life as dearly as possible. We parried a few of his blows with the umbrellas, but they were not strong enough, and besides, the Negro seized hold of mine; we struggled and it broke, leaving only a bit of the handle in my hand, but during the struggle he happened to let fall his knife, which rolled away a few steps. I darted after it, but he was quicker, and got hold of it again, striking me as he did so with both hand and foot, and giving me two deep cuts in the fleshy part of the left arm. I now gave myself up for lost, and only despair gave me courage still to make use of my knife; I made two stabs at the breast of my assailant, but only wounded

him in the hand ; but in the mean time the Count sprang towards him and seized him from behind, so that I had time to get up again from the ground. All this had happened in less than a minute, and the wounds he had received now made the Negro quite furious ; he gnashed his teeth, flew at us like a wild beast, and wielded his knife with terrible rapidity : but God sent us help at this last moment ; for we heard the steps of horses on the road, and the negro immediately left us and escaped into the wood ; and directly afterwards two horsemen made their appearance round the turning. We hastened towards them, and our cut umbrellas, as well as our bleeding wounds, explained our situation : they enquired after the direction the fugitive had taken, sprang again on their horses, and endeavoured to overtake him ; but their exertions would probably have been in vain, had not two Negroes come by and offered their assistance. He was soon brought back, tied fast, and when he refused to walk, he received such a shower of blows, especially over the head, that I feared the poor creature's skull would have been fractured. He uttered no sound, however, but remained lying on the ground, and the two Negroes had to carry him along—biting like an enraged beast—to the next house. The Count and I got our wounds bound up, and then continued our ramble, not without fear, however, especially when we met any Negroes, but unmolested and in constant admiration of the lovely landscape.

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At Petropolis, as well as afterwards on our return to Rio de Janeiro, people wondered so much at the attack made upon us, that if we had not had our wounds to show, they would certainly not have believed us. It was said, the fellow must have been drunk or mad, but we learned afterwards that his master had shortly before inflicted punishment upon him on account of some offence, and when he met us in the wood, he probably thought it would be a good opportunity of revenging himself on the whites.

We will not be so ungallant as the people of Petropolis and Rio, but will constrain ourselves implicitly to believe that the adventure occurred precisely as it is here related, although we have not the wounds of Mrs. Pfeiffer and the Count for our vouchers. We should like to adorn our armoury with that pen-knife with which two lounges were made at the monster's breast.

Undeterred by this adventure, our authoress set off for an excursion into the interior of the country, to visit a tribe of Indians, and to spend a night in one of their villages. She was accompanied at the outset by Count Berchtold ; but ere the journey was well begun, he was laid up by the inflammation consequent on his wounds, and she undauntedly pursued the journey alone, having received "a sort of half-and-half assurance" as to the probable safety of the road, and taken the precaution to add "a pair of good double-barrelled pistols" to her equipment. It does not appear that she ever had occasion to use these formidable weapons, although we have repeated intonations that she did not henceforth relinquish them and trust to the pen-knife alone. But it were from our purpose to

linger with our authoress in the Western Hemisphere. Our readers must therefore consider that she has doubled Cape Horn, seen what was to be seen in Chili, paid a flying visit to Tahiti—seen the lions of Macao, Hong-Kong and Canton, and expatiated on the hills and valleys of Ceylon; and once more we beg to introduce them to her on board one of the P. and O. Co.'s Steamers, approaching the City of Palaces. As it is good for us occasionally to "see ourselves as others see us," we shall hope to be excused if we should dwell at disproportionate length on that part of our author's narrative which relates to Calcutta. Here is the account of her first arrival:—

About fifteen miles below Calcutta, a palace-like building made its appearance, with a pleasant dwelling-house beside it; this was a cotton factory; and from this point many most elegant mansions in the Greek-Italian style, and richly ornamented with columns, terraces, &c., presented themselves on both sides of the river; but we flew too quickly past to catch more than a glimpse of them. Many ships of the largest size sailed by,—steamers dashed up and down, taking them in tow, and the strange and animating bustle constantly increased, and made it easy for us to see that we were approaching the metropolis of Asia. We anchored at *Garderich* [Garden-Reach,] some miles below Calcutta, and our engineer took compassion on the difficulty I found in making the natives understand where they were to take me, as signs would not always answer the purpose, and took me ashore, engaged a palanquin for me, and gave the bearers proper instructions. \*

We should not have thought of applying the epithet "palace-like" to Fort-Gloster Mills; but as we have seen very few palaces, our idea of what is essential to such an edifice is very contracted, and therefore probably very erroneous. The mistake as to the name of Garden-Reach is very excusable in a foreigner; but we wonder that it was not corrected by the translator. In one of the Garden-Reach "palaces," the residence of Mr. Heiliger, a German merchant, Mrs. Pfeiffer stayed during her residence in Calcutta. She was of course "quartered with true Indian luxury—having a bed-chamber, a reception room, a bath-room, and a dressing-room placed at her disposal." We have next the usual dissertation on native servants, and the other details of Indian house-keeping:—

Every family inhabits a palace, and keeps from twenty-five to thirty servants;—two cooks, a dish-washer, two water-carriers, four to wait at table, four room-cleaners, a lamp-lighter, half-a-dozen stable men (for there are at least six horses, and every horse must have his own attendant), a pair of coachmen, ditto of gardeners, a waiting maid for the lady, a nurse for every child, and a maid to wait upon the nurses; two tailors, two punkah pullers, and a porter. I have visited families that kept as many as sixty or seventy servants. Their wages run from four to eleven rupees a month, but they receive no food, and only a few sleep in the house; board and lodging are reckoned in the wages. Most of them are married, and go

home daily to eat and sleep ; they also buy their own clothing, except turbans and girdles, and provide for their own washing. The linen of the family is put out to wash, notwithstanding the crowd of servants ; and a common rate for this is three rupees for a hundred pieces ; but the quantity of linen required is extraordinary, for every thing is worn white, and the entire dress is usually changed twice a day.

Provisions are not dear, but horses, carriages, furniture, and clothes excessively so ; the three last come from Europe, the horses frequently from Australia or Java, though sometimes from Europe ; and I have known people keep twenty of them.

In my opinion, all this inordinate expenditure is, in a great measure, the fault of the Europeans themselves. They see the rajahs, and great people of the country with these swarms of idle attendants, and they will not be outdone by them ; by degrees the custom becomes established, and now, I believe, it would be difficult to break through it ; I was told that it could not be otherwise, as long as the Hindoos were divided into castes. The Hindoo who cleans the rooms would, on no account, wait at table ; the child's nurse would scorn to clean the basin that the little one is washed in ; yet, nevertheless, even allowing for this, the number of attendants is needlessly great. Even in China and Singapore I was struck by the same circumstance, but here the number is double or treble what it is there.

We do not think that residents in Calcutta usually have their washing "done" at so much for the hundred pieces ; but as this would be the way in which Mrs. Pfeiffer, on her arrival from a sea-voyage, was accommodated, the mistake is a very pardonable one. We should say, that of the thousands of carriages in Calcutta, very few have been brought from Europe, also very little furniture ; we do not think that clothes are excessively dear, and we never heard of any importation of horses from Java. We presume Burmah is intended. As to families in Calcutta keeping from sixty to seventy servants, that is, properly domestic servants, not employed in any work connected with their master's profession, we should suspect that it is a mistake. The following short extract will surprise our Calcutta readers, and show them how little they know of the city in which they dwell :—

The notorious "Black Hole," in which, in the year 1756, the Rajah Suraja Dowla, when he took Calcutta, shut up and suffocated 150 of the most distinguished prisoners, is now turned into a warehouse ; but before the entrance stands an obelisk about fifty feet high, on which the names of the unfortunate men are inscribed.

We are really sorry for the occurrence of this passage ; as it tends, whether we will or not, to shake our confidence in our author's veracity. Little inaccuracies, of which there are multitudes in the book, are very excusable, and frequently very amusing ; but this is a statement intended to make us believe that the author saw what she certainly did not see. We cannot even believe that it is the result of the "tricks upon

travellers" which some people love to display their ingenuity in perpetrating; for there is not a single building in Calcutta with an obelisk fifty feet high before it, which any mischievous youth acting as her *cicerone* might have told her was the Black Hole. The only explanation that we can give of the matter, and it is one on which we fall back very unwillingly, is that Mrs. Pfeiffer, all the time she was in India, forgot all about the Black Hole; but that when she was preparing the work for the press, it struck her that this was one of the things that she ought to have seen, and that she had recourse to some book for information as to its present state, but unfortunately referred to some one of an earlier date than 1820. At all events no trace of the Black Hole, or of the monumental obelisk, has existed since that date.

Our author went to visit a native gentleman, "whose property, with that of his brother, is estimated at £150,000 'sterling.'" Unless we mistake the person alluded to here, she might have stated his property at a very much higher "figure" than this. Indeed, if native rumour is at all to be depended upon as to the havings of the two brothers whom we suppose alluded to, one of whom is now dead, she would have been much nearer the mark if she had added an additional cypher:—

The great man sent for his two sons, handsome boys of four and seven years of age, to present to me, and I inquired after his wife and daughters, though aware that I was a little out of order in so doing. Our poor sex stands so low in the opinion of a Hindu, that even a question about them is half an insult; he forgave me for it however, as I was a European, and ordered his girls also to be summoned: the youngest was a lovely baby of six months old, tolerably white and with splendid eyes; the eldest a rather common-looking little girl of *nine*, whom her father presented to me as a bride, and invited me to the wedding, which was to take place in six weeks; I was so surprised, that I said I supposed of course he meant not wedding but betrothal, but he assured me that the child was to be really married and given over to her husband.

When I asked whether she liked the bridegroom, I was told that they were to see each other for the first time on the wedding day; and he assured me further, that among his people a father must make all possible haste to provide husbands for his girls, as an unmarried daughter would be the disgrace of the father, who would be regarded as wanting in natural affection. When he has found a son-in law whom he approves, he describes to his wife his qualities, person, property, and so forth, and with his description she must be content, for neither as bridegroom nor husband does she ever see the man to whom her daughter is given. He is never considered as belonging to the family of the bride—but the young wife goes over entirely into the family of her husband.

Bad as the condition of Hindu females is, this picture seems to us considerably over-coloured. There is no reason whatever why a Hindu lady should not see her son-in-law either before

or after marriage, if she has any desire to do so ; and in point of fact all ladies do occasionally see their sons-in-law if they live within reach.

Before I left the house, I went to see an apartment in the lower story, in which, once a year, a domestic religious service is performed, called the *Natsch*. This festival—the greatest of the Hindus—falls at the beginning of October, and lasts fourteen days, and during that time both rich and poor carefully refrain from every kind of work. The merchant closes his shops and warehouses, the servant procures himself a deputy to do his work, and master and man pass their time, if not in praying and fasting, at least in doing nothing else. The Babu related to me that during the festival his saloon was richly ornamented, and the ten-armed goddess Durga set up in the middle of it. She is made of clay or wood, painted in the gaudiest colours, and decorated with flowers, ribbons, gold and silver spangles, and often real jewels. The saloon, the court-yard, and the outside of the house glitter with hundreds of lamps and lights intermixed with vases and garlands of flowers. Many animals are sacrificed, though they are killed not in the sight of the goddess, but in some remote corner of the house. Priests come to wait upon the divinity, and dancing-girls display their art to the sound of loud music : there are among these women, I was told, Indian Elsers and Taglionis who, like them, obtain large sums for their performances ; at the time I was there, there was a Persian dancer, who never came for an evening under 500 rupees.

During the *Natsch*, crowds of visitors, amongst whom are many Europeans, go from temple to temple, and the more distinguished guests are entertained with sweetmeats and fruit.

The supposition, that the term *natch*, which has almost been naturalized as an English word, is synonymous with the *Durga Puja*, is one of those amusing little mistakes to which we previously alluded. We are happy to say that not many Europeans of respectability now attend the natches given on occasion of this puja. Would that there were none, who so far forget what is due to themselves, their country, and that religion to which they owe so much ! Our authoress seems to have been rather industrious in her enquiries into the idolatry of the Hindus :—

Festivals in honour of the four-armed goddess Kally take place several times a year, and there were two while I was in Calcutta. Before every but I saw a crowd of little idols, formed of clay, and gaily painted, but representing the most horrible figures. The goddess Kally is of the size of life, and stretches her tongue as far as possible out of widely opened jaws ; but she is adorned with garlands of flowers. Her temple is a wretched building, or rather a dark hole, with a few turrets at the top of it : the statues in it are distinguished by most enormous heads and long tongues ; their faces are painted red, yellow, and sky-blue.

This I saw through the door ; for as I belonged to the feminine gender, I was not deemed worthy to enter so great a sanctuary as the temple of Kally, but I was quite resigned to the prohibition.

The latter paragraph is very rich, as a specimen of theorizing upon false data, and is worthy of being placed side by side

with the question wherewithal Charles the Second is said to have puzzled the philosophers of his day :—" What is the reason why a living fish put into a vessel of water does not increase its weight, while the same fish, if dead, would make it weigh more by the whole amount of its own weight?" —" What is the reason why a European woman is not allowed to enter a Hindu temple, while a European man may enter freely?" This specimen of grifinish theorising recalls to us an amusing anecdote, which was related to us only a few days ago by the lady to whom it occurred. A gentleman newly imported was listening to a conversation between her and a durzi, who becoming very earnest, repeatedly assured her with folded hands that she was his father and mother. The gentleman asked what it was that he had so eagerly said, and on being informed, replied that he supposed that must be owing to the Hindu notions of transmigration !! Of course the hoary-bearded son of our informant was a Mussulman ; but that was a trifle.

After the visit to Kali's temple, Mrs. Pfeiffer went to the Nintola Ghat, the place in Calcutta where the Hindus burn their dead. We presume she is the first European lady that ever passed the limits of this enclosure, and we may safely predict that her example will not be extensively followed :—

In this place I saw one dead and one *dying* man, and on six funeral piles six corpses, which the high darting flames were rapidly consuming. Birds of the stork kind, larger than turkeys, small vultures, and ravens were sitting round in great numbers on the neighbouring roofs and trees, and eagerly waiting for the half-burnt bodies. I hastened shuddering from the spot, and could for a long time not banish its painful image from my memory.

Such is the whole amount of Mrs. Pfeiffer's gleanings during a residence of five weeks in Calcutta. It is true there is not much to be seen or remarked on in our city ; but surely she might have found a few more matters of interest.

Mrs. Pfeiffer's next movement was through the Sunderbunds, and up the Ganges to Benares, on board the Steamer *General Macleod*. Nothing strikes us particularly in her account of this voyage, except her strange mistakes as to the names of places, Katscherie for Kedgeree, Gulna for Coolneah, Bealeah for Rampore Beaulea, and Gur for Gour. On stopping at Rajmahal, our authoress set out in search of the ruins of this once famous capital. But she did not succeed, or at least all the ruins that she found, "certainly did not occupy a space of two 'English square miles.'" From this she seems to conclude that

the existence of Gour, as a city that occupied twenty square miles, is very apocryphal. Our Indian readers will not be surprised at her not finding the ruins of Gour at Rajmahal, since their site is a good dozen of miles from that station! She made the discovery, that Monghyr "is considered one of 'the unhealthiest places in all India, and whoever is ordered 'here for a few years, may generally take a final farewell of 'his friends." This, we think, will be news for our medical statisticians. Her description of Benares is very meagre, but so far as we are able to judge, not inaccurate. The principal event recorded is a visit to the titular raja, who treated her with great kindness, got up an extempore natch for her gratification, and mounting her on his own elephant, sent her off to visit his garden.

From Benares, she proceeded to Allahabad in a "*post-dock*;" a conveyance whose nature it is not easy to understand, the latter word being Pfeifferian for *dâk*; and the former being English for the same! Here also her romanizing is amusingly at fault, converting the native name of the city *Práyág* into *Brog*. From Allahabad, she went to Cannipoor, (Cawnpore) and thence to Agra. The following is her account of the far-famed *Taj*:-

The last sight I went to see in Agra was the admired and world-renowned *Taj-Mahal*, a monument erected by the Sultan Jehan to the memory of his favourite lady, Narr-Mahal: but the sultan's own memory has been more indebted to it: for every one who sees it naturally asks after the name of the monarch whose word of power called such a structure into being. The names of the architect and builder have unfortunately been lost: many have ascribed it to Italian masters; but when we see so many magnificent works of Mahomedan artists, we should either deny them all, or be willing to acknowledge this.

On an open terrace of red sandstone twelve feet high, standing in the middle of a garden, is reared an octangular mosque of white marble, with high arcades and minarets at the four corners. The principal cupola rises to a height of 260 feet, and is surrounded by smaller ones. All round the outside of the mosque are sentences from the Koran in letters of black marble, inlaid. In the principal apartment stand two sarcophagi, in one of which repose the remains of the sultan, and in the other those of his favourite, and they, as well as the lower half of the walls, are of the richest mosaic, inlaid with semi-precious stones. One of the most beautiful things about it is the trellis-work of marble by which the sarcophagi are surrounded, and which is so delicately and exquisitely wrought that it looks like carved ivory: it is also enriched at top and bottom with semi-precious stones, and among them one was pointed out to me called the "gold stone," and which has perfectly the fine colour of that metal: it is very costly, more so than lapis-lazuli.

Two other mosques stand at a short distance from the *Taj-Mahal*, which anywhere else would be much admired, but they are little noticed in the

presence of a structure, of which a traveller says, not without reason, that " it seems too pure—too holy to be the work of human hands. Angels," he adds, " must have brought it from Heaven ;" and a glass case should be thrown over it to preserve it even from every breath of air ; yet this mausoleum has already stood 250 years, but it is as perfect as if it were just finished. Many travellers have asserted that its effect is peculiarly enchanting by moonlight, and accordingly I paid it a visit when the moon was shining gloriously, but I did not at all agree with them that the effect was improved, and almost regretted to have weakened thus my first impression. Amidst ancient ruins or Gothic buildings, moonlight exercises a magic power, but not so on a monument of polished white marble, for that only falls into vague undefined masses like heaps of snow. I cannot but suspect that the first traveller who visited it by moonlight, did so in company that made everything charming, and that the subsequent ones have only repeated after him.

We quite agree with Mrs. Pfeiffer on this point in aesthetics. The light that is suitable for " fair Melrose " cannot be the light in which to see the Taj-Mahal aright.

Through Futteypore to Delhi was her next stage ; in her ignorance, she sadly libels the fair children of the Hindu community :—

The prettiest girlish faces peep modestly out of these curtained bailis ; and did not one know that in India an unveiled face is never an innocent one, the fact certainly could not be divined from their looks or behaviour. Unhappily there is no country in the world where there are more of this class than in India ; and in a great measure on account of an absurd and unnatural law : the girls of every family are betrothed when they are only a few months old ; and should the bridegroom die even immediately after, the child is considered as a widow, and cannot marry again. The estate of widowhood is regarded as a great misfortune, for it is supposed that only those women are placed in it who have, in some preceding life, deserved such a punishment. Most of the young women so situated become dancing-girls.

We yield to none, in our estimate of the evils arising from the practice of early marriages ; but it is too much to suppose that the children in Delhi sent out to take the air in an evening are all prostitutes, and that *most* of the young widows throughout India become dancing-girls ! Upon the whole, however, we find more information, and fewer mis-statements respecting Delhi, than generally occur in our traveller's description of places and things ; which is probably due to her having been the guest of Dr. Sprenger, who showed her great kindness, knew what he had to describe, and could describe it in her own language. That in Calcutta she had fallen amongst wags willing to play on her griffism, is evident from the strain of many of her remarks ; and not least from the fact that she was strongly impressed while here with a sense

of the danger of proceeding beyond Delhi, on account of the country being positively over-run with Thugs! Although this impression was dissipated at Delhi, she still could not proceed to Simla, on account of the season; and therefore took the nearer road to Bombay through Central India. Her first main station, after leaving Delhi, was Kotah, where she did not find the Resident, Captain Burdon, but was kindly entertained by the Surgeon, Dr. Roland. Her next stage was Indore, where she was hospitably received by the Resident, Mr. Hamilton, who treated her with princely hospitality, and made arrangements for forwarding her to Ajunta. On her way to the fortress of Dowlutabad and the temples of Ellora, she made a digression to take part in a tiger-hunt. We must give the account in her own words:—

When Captain Gill understood that I wished to visit the renowned fortress of Dowlutabad, he told me that no one was admitted to it without an order from the commandant of Aurunjabad; but he added, that he would immediately send a messenger thither for one, and he could at the same time bring me a card of admission for Ellora. There and back the messenger would have a distance of 140 miles to go, and all this courtesy was shown by Englishmen to me, a German woman, without rank or distinction of any kind.

At four o'clock in the morning the captain favoured me with his company at the coffee-table, and half an hour afterwards I was sitting in my bauli pursuing my journey.

*March 9.*—Early in the morning I mounted my horse, to visit the rocky temple of Ellora; but, as it often happens in life, I was reminded of the proverbial saying, “Man proposes and God disposes,” and instead of the temple I saw a tiger-hunt.

I had scarcely turned my back on the town where I had passed the night, when I saw advancing towards me from the bongolo several Europeans, sitting upon elephants. We stopped on coming up with each other, and began a conversation, from which it appeared that the gentlemen were out on a tiger-hunt, as they had had information of some being in the neighbourhood, and they invited me, if such sport did not terrify me too much, to join them. I was very glad of the invitation, and soon found myself in company with two of the gentlemen and one native, seated in a box about two feet high, which was placed on the back of a very large elephant. The native was to load the guns; and they gave me a large knife to defend myself with in case the tiger should spring up to the edge of the box.

Thus prepared, we set off for the hills, and after the lapse of some hours, thought we had come, probably, pretty close to the tiger's den, when suddenly one of our servants exclaimed, “*Buck, back,\* that is Tiger!*” Glaring eyes were seen through the bushes, and at the same moment several shots were fired. The animal was soon pierced by several bullets, and now dashed at us full of fury. He made such tremendous springs that I thought he must infallibly soon reach our box, and choose himself a victim out of our party. This spectacle was terrible enough to me, and my fear was presently increased by the sight of a second tiger. I behaved myself, however, so

\* Pfeifferian for *Bhāg, Bhāg*.

valiantly, that no one of the gentlemen suspected what a coward I was. Shot followed shot. The elephants defended themselves very cleverly with their trunks, and after a hot fight of half an hour's duration, we remained victors, and the dead animals were in triumph robbed of their beautiful skins. The gentlemen were so courteous as to offer me one of them, but I declined accepting it, as I could not have delayed my journey long enough to have it dried and put into a proper state.

I got a good deal of praise for my courageous behaviour, and I was told tiger-hunting was really extremely dangerous where the elephants were not very well trained. If they were afraid of the tigers, and ran away, one would be very likely to be dashed off by the branches of the trees, or perhaps left hanging upon them, and then would infallibly become the prey of the enraged animal. It was of course too late for my visit to the temples this day, so I had to put it off till the following morning.

In seven weeks from Delhi our traveller reached Bombay, where she cultivated an acquaintance with the Parsi doctrines and ritual, visited Elephanta and Salsette, and saw all that is to be seen in the metropolis of the Western Presidency. She then left India, in a small steamer bound for Bussora; and here we must take our leave of her.

From all that we have said, and especially from the extracts we have introduced, our readers will form their own judgment as to the merits and demerits of this book. It is certainly a curiosity in its way, and is pleasant to read; but for any purpose of information or instruction its value is not great, on account of the inaccuracies with which it abounds. In fact, whatever gratification Mrs. Pfeiffer herself may have received in the course of her voyages and travels, we do not think that her narrative is particularly valuable. In the course of our perusal we have frequently put the question *Cui bono*, and echo in reply, has faintly whispered "*No.*"

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ART. II.—*The Life of Taou-Kwang, late Emperor of China, with Memoirs of the Court of Peking; including a Sketch of the principal events in the History of the Chinese Empire during the last fifty years.* By the late Rev. Charles Gutzlaff, author of the “History of China,” “China Opened,” &c. London, 1852.

ALTHOUGH this volume was probably not put to press till after the death of its author, and was not published till after the tidings of his death had reached England, yet it does not labor under the disadvantages usually incident to posthumous publications; since it was fully prepared for the press, and transmitted for publication to England, by the author himself. We cannot but regard it as matter of thankfulness, that he had completed this work before his summons came; for although the account that it contains, both of the late emperor's life, and of the events of his reign, is but meagre, yet we believe we may safely assert that Dr. Gutzlaff has not left any man behind him who could give even so complete and so accurate an account both of the one and the other. Accustomed as he was for so many years to live on terms of familiar intercourse with thousands of Chinese of all ranks and classes—acquainted with the language and habits of thought of the people, to an extent to which no European ever was before—he was able to bring the discriminative powers of a shrewd and intelligent mind to bear upon the sentiments of the Chinese, respecting the character of their sovereign, and the important events that occurred in the course of his reign: while the position that he occupied during and since the war between Britain and China, and the important part that he had to take, as principal interpreter, in all the negotiations carried on between the representatives of the two nations, gave him better opportunities than any other man enjoyed, to trace the tortuous windings of Chinese policy and diplomacy, as exhibited in that most important crisis of China's history. As it would have been deeply to be regretted that Dr. Gutzlaff's knowledge of these things should have died with him, so it is a matter of corresponding satisfaction that he lived long enough to prepare the work before us for publication.

We are at issue with Dr. Gutzlaff respecting the sentiment contained in his opening paragraph:—“To be an emperor of China is perhaps the highest dignity to which a mortal can aspire. Leaving out all that superstition has added to the exalted rank the monarch holds, there remains still very much which would fill minds like those of Alexander and Napoleon,

‘ even at the acmé of their glory, with envy. It is not necessary to talk about the great emperor as the prince of princes, the vice-gerent of heaven upon earth, the very representative of all living beings, to give a sublime idea of his position; the simple fact of being sovereign over three hundred and sixty-five millions of human beings, is enough to raise the autocrat in worldly estimation.’ When we say that we are at issue with our author respecting this sentiment, we do not mean it merely on the high ground, that there is a dignity to which mortals may aspire—and which mortals may attain—above that of any earthly sovereignty whatsoever. We speak merely of the comparative dignities of earthly thrones; and we know of at least one which we would far rather occupy—we trust there is no treason involved in thus permitting the thought to glance through our mind—than that of China. We will not allow Alexander and Napoleon to be the best judges on such a question; and without doubting that *their* sentiments would have been akin to those that our author imputes to them, we can say for ourselves, and for all right-thinking and sound-judging men, that it were far better, and a far higher dignity, to be the constitutional ruler of a free, happy, and loyal people, than to be the nominal sovereign of a third part of the human race. And that no emperor of China can be more than the nominal sovereign of his vast dominions, the work before us seems to us indisputably to evince. We deny not that the character of the emperor will exert a considerable influence on the condition of a portion of the people, nor that a man of goodness and energy combined might do much good were he placed on the throne of China—as indeed where in the wide world will a good and energetic man not find or make the means of doing much good? Neither do we deny that such an emperor might derive some degree of happiness and satisfaction from the consciousness of diffusing blessings around him. But for all that, we are very certain that the throne of China is not the seat on which a wisely ambitious man would seek to sit.

We have all along known that the power of the emperor is scarcely felt in the remote provinces of his dominions; that in fact the Mandarins, as a body, are the supreme rulers; that while they are individually responsible, the supercession of one only makes room for the appointment of another, so that the authority of the body is still maintained; and that the emperor’s power extends no further than to the choice of those who are to exercise a virtually irresponsible authority. But while we have long known this in the general, we do not remember that the impression that so it is, and that so it must be,

was ever so vividly produced on our mind, as it has been by the perusal of this plain and straight-forward narrative. The author has no theory to maintain—no point of political doctrine to establish; he simply relates events as they occurred, and represents the state of things as he saw it daily before his eyes. But simple as is the relation, and plain as is the representation, it clearly indicates that the mis-government of the country, even under a good emperor, is greater even than we had imagined, and that the emperor has almost nothing in his power, either for the prevention of evil, or the accomplishment of good.

We leave out of view the tyranny of custom by which the occupant of the imperial throne is swayed and shackled; the necessity of his acting according to empiric rules, and the absolute impossibility of his exercising independent judgment on any occasion. True, it may be said that any emperor may break through these rules, and refuse to be for ever wrapped in the swaddling clothes of tyrannous custom. True, he may do this, but can he do this and continue emperor? We suspect that this is an impossibility; and that the first symptom of an emperor's independence of thought and judgment would be the signal for a revolution. At present it seems to us that the emperor of China has but one thing to depend upon for the stability of his throne—that is the mutual jealousy and hatred of the nobles and Mandarins. *Divide et impera* is the maxim, on the adherence to which his safety must depend; but let any emperor attempt an innovation which it would be the interest of the whole of this body to resist, and his downfall would be sure.

Meen-ning, who on ascending the throne took the name of Taou-Kwang, was born in 1781. His succession to the imperial dignity resulted from a combination of unlooked-for occurrences. His grand-father, Keenlung, in the exercise of that right which allows the emperor to choose any one of his sons as his successor, had designated several of his sons in succession; but those designated had either died, or had forfeited the affection of their father. His final choice fell upon Keaking, his fifteenth child, the son of a concubine. Keaking was the father of Meen-ning, who also was the son of a concubine, and who had attained the age of maturity when Keenlung abdicated the throne. The reign of Keaking was distinguished by nothing more than by licentiousness and mis-rule. His court was a scene of endless debauchery, the people were fleeced unmercifully in order to furnish to the monarch and his dissolute courtiers the means of riot and excess; and various attempts, in which some of his own sons were engaged, were made upon the life of the emperor. On one of these occasions, Meen-ning (Taou-Kwang) saved his father's life,

and was in consequence nominated his successor. Thus it was contrary to all reasonable expectation, that Taou-Kwang became emperor; his father having been chosen only after several of his brothers, and he in like manner having been chosen by his father in consequence of a single act of intrepidity.

It was fortunate for Taou-Kwang that his grandfather lived so long, and that his tastes were formed in *his* court, and not in that of his own father. In that court he had acquired a taste for athletic and manly exercises, which preserved him from the debauchery and effeminacy that disgraced the court of Keaking. The following brief account of his character is given by our author:—

Meen-ning could not fail to be occasionally present at the parties given by his father, and to behold the abandoned characters of those who constituted his bosom friends; and that he, in such a hot bed of vice, should have breathed a pure atmosphere, and left this den of all that was vile, unsullied, is matter of admiration, and speaks volumes in favor of his character. He avoided, on the other hand, all interference, and never remonstrated, whatever might happen. Nor did he come forward, as the appointed heir of the crown, to arrogate those honors which in that character would fall to his share. Had he shown the least inclination to exhibit himself as the future ruler of the vast empire, he would, with many of his best contemporaries, have soon ceased to behold the light of the sun. It was his unassuming character that pleased his father most; for he gave no rise to suspicion, and betrayed no emotion amongst the most trying scenes, when his kindred and acquaintances were hurried to execution; and he lived without making any party for himself. When he had his bow and arrows, his match-lock and horse, Meen-ning was satisfied, and cared very little for the affairs of the State, which were beyond his reach. Being totally devoid of the talent for plotting, none of the grandees ever made him a confidant of their plans; and even slander could not accuse him of having meddled with politics.

Such was Meen-ning, when the death of his father in 1820 raised him to the throne. If we had reason to believe that it was purely the love of field-sports, and indifference to politics, or disgust at his father's licentious and tyrannical proceedings, that induced him so stedfastly to stand aloof from public affairs, we should sympathize, somewhat more cordially than we actually feel ourselves able to do, with the eulogium just quoted from the work before us. But we confess that we can see but little in his character save selfish caution, nothing in his refraining from taking part in the plots of the day, but a deeper plot to retain the position in the emperor's favor, which by a fortunate accident, he had won. However, even in this view of the matter, we must remember that caution and deep plotting are qualities more in esteem among the Chinese than amongst us.

Be this as it may; it required a man of mature judgment (Taou-Kwang was in his thirty-ninth year) and of cool and cautious pru-

dence, to succeed an emperor like Keaking, under whose bad reign the kingdom had fallen into a state bordering upon anarchy; disorder and misrule having obtained the unchecked ascendancy in all departments of the Government. His first act, after being fairly seated on the throne, was to clear the Augean stable of his father's harem and court. "The silent, the pensive 'Taou-Kwang" (says our author) "whom every one believed 'to be unfit for holding such a high station, began to look about 'in order to effect the necessary reforms. The Harem had been 'made a place of abomination, and the vilest of woman-kind 'reigned there supreme. Thither, therefore, the attention of 'Taou-Kwang was first directed: he dismissed the women, al- 'lowing each to return to her parents and relatives: there 'were few that had not secured large sums by the most nefarious 'traffic. The comedians, buffoons, and all that class were 'also discharged, and the whole establishment was cleared." \*

\* \* "And now Taou-Kwang's care was directed to the Government. The cabinet claimed his first care; and the removal of ministers, partly on account of their age, partly for having been the creatures of his father, took place successsively. But in these proceedings no violence or injustice was done. It had been customary, on the accession of a new emperor, to mulct the richest among them, and having done so, to draw up a register of their crimes, in order to condemn them to the utmost penalty. Now, the changes took place gradually, without the slightest vituperation."

So far all well. But the work of destruction is proverbially easier than that of construction; and Taou-Kwang was not the first monarch who found it easier to remove a bad cabinet than to replace it by a good one. At no time have good, unselfish, and patriotic men abounded amongst the Chinese nobles; and the dissolute reign of Keaking had well nigh rendered the breed extinct. The emperor therefore tried the hazardous experiment of being his own minister; but the experiment did not succeed, or at least but partially. By degrees, therefore, he took to his counsels the best men that he could find; and the descriptions which our author gives of these men seem to us to be masterly sketches, with an air of reality about them that indicates that they are drawn from the life, and with no apprentice's pencil. We cannot give a more favorable specimen of the work before us than by extracting one or two of these accounts of the counsellors of Taou-Kwang. We begin with Lung, whose name is not unknown to Europeans.

The people, however, hoped that the famous Lung, once so celebrated as a statesman, and now banished from the court, would again be called

into power. This did not take place immediately; Taou-Kwang disliked the man on account of his boisterous, imperious manner. When he was upbraided for neglecting such an excellent statesman, he simply remarked that he was willing to receive advice, but would not in this case leave the intermeddler unpunished. Lung remained a month at the court, and was then sent in charge of the pleasure grounds of Gshol.

There are few adventurers who have lived such a chequered life as this courtier. He was always happy, always buoyant; no punishment could cast him down entirely, no promotion or good fortune make him proud and overbearing. Profuse in his expenditure, always poor and harassed, he never took a farthing from the poor; nor did he in any manner encroach upon the rights of the people. This gave him great popularity; and whenever any calamity afflicted the country, it was Lung to whom the people looked. He remained for some time at the pleasure-garden; perceiving however very soon that mere merit never proved sufficient to retain the imperial favor, he managed to get a daughter into the Harem; and having succeeded in this, he had a very strong advocate at Court.

In a short time he was made Governor-General of the province of Chih-Lo, a very high post, as Pekin is situated within its jurisdiction. He obtained quite the ascendancy in the cabinet, talked a good deal, and wrote still more. Being given to hard drinking, he often appeared in the council-chamber with a napkin dipped in water round his head, to cool his cranium. He then was the soul of the ministry, discussing all the points with great volatility, giving much good advice, and proving of some avail to Taou-Kwang. But the emperor wished to be free from vain interlocutors, and therefore availed himself of an opportunity to send this too powerful grandee to Ko-lo to settle some quarrels there. Thus he was freed from Lung's presence, and began to breathe again.

The blustering, swaggering, reckless Lung, does not at all harmonize with the current ideas respecting a Chinese grandee; and we suspect that he was not a type of a large class. Much more in accordance with the general ideas respecting the class to which they belonged, are the characters of Keying and Hegan, the former being a better than average specimen, and the latter perhaps a little worse; but both possessing the generic characteristics, flexibility, sycophancy, and unadulterated selfishness. Another pair equally displaying the characteristics of the order, were Mulchangal and Keshen. But we pass all these and others over; and extract with pleasure the sketch of Elepoo, of whom we do not now hear for the first time; and our good opinion of whom we are glad to have confirmed by Dr. Gutzlaff.

The very opposite of this great statesman was Elepoo, a man older than Taou-Kwang, and in early life attached to his person. His whole character was that of straight-forwardness, without blandishment; he had little talent, but great honesty of purpose: whenever this was wanted, he was the man. As he often spoke his mind freely, he gave frequent offence, and was repeatedly exiled to the provinces; where however, he held high offices. Yet his master never took off his eye from his faithful servant; and when every one thought that he was forgotten, a summons was all at once issued to call him to the capital. There he was again treated with great respect, until his unconquerable uprightness brought on another rupture.

It is truly refreshing to meet with such an honest John-Bull-like old fellow amongst such a squad. Truly a sturdy, brave, heroic man, a truth-loving and faith-keeping man, in the midst of a nation of liars and covenant-breakers. With all the fearlessness of Lung, and without his boisterousness and immorality, a man of the hedge-hog\* breed—happier, we dare say, in his exile than in his recal—liking better to “hear the lark sing than the mouse chirp,” having a constitution better attempered to the atmosphere of the country than to that of the court. Such a man was worthy of a better fate than to be subject to the malice of Keshen and the caprice of Taou-Kwang. We set out by stating that our ambition does not point to the occupancy of the Chinese throne as an object intensely to be desired; neither does it lead us to wish for a place at its foot. We will not spoil the effect of the description of this fine fellow by extracting any more of our

\* On the *Suum cuique tribuit* principle, we ought to acknowledge our obligation to Mr. Douglas Jerrold for the idea that leads to this comparison. As many of our readers may be ignorant of the peculiar merits of the hedge-hog, it is altogether due to Elepoo, that we should quote the passage at length, in order to vindicate the claims to be regarded as a compliment, of an epithet that will not, perhaps, be generally acknowledged in that quality.

“Give me all bosom friends like him,” (says Mr. Jerrold in the person of Mr. Capstick), for then there’d be no dencit in ‘em: you’d see the worst of ‘em at the beginning. Now look at this fine honest fellow. What plain, straightforward truths he bears about him! You see at once that he is a living pin-cushion with the pins’ points upwards, and instantly you treat him after his open nature. You know he’s not to be played at hall with: you take in with a glance all that his exterior signifies, and ought to love him for his frankness. Poor wretch! ‘tis a thousand and a thousand times the ruin of him. He has, it is true, an outside of thorns—heaven made him with them—but a heart of honey. \* \* \* He bears a plain exterior; he shews so many pricking trnths to the world, that the world, in revenge, couples every outside point with an interior devil. He is made a martyr for this iniquity—he hides nothing. Poor Velvet!”

“ ‘Tis a pity,” said King-Cup, “that all hedge-hogs are not translated after your fashion.”

“What a better world ‘twould make of it!” answered the Cynic. “But no, Sir, no: *that’s* the sort of thing the world loves;” and Capstick pointed to a handsome tortoise-shell cat, stretched at her fullest length upon the hearth. “What a meek, cosy face she has: a placid, quiet sort of grandmother-look—may all grandmothers forgive me! Then, to see her lap milk; why, you’d think a drop of blood of any sort would poison her. The wretch! ‘twas only last week she killed and ate one of my doves, and afterwards sat wiping her whiskers with her left paw, as comfortably as any dowager at a tea party. I nursed her before she had any eyes to look at her benefactor, and she has sat and purred upon my knee, as though she knew all she owed me, and was trying to pay the debt with her best singing. And for all this, look here—this is what she *did* only yesterday;” and Capstick shewed three long fine scratches on his right hand.

“That’s nothing,” said Mr. King-Cup. “You know that cats will scratch.”

“To be sure I do,” replied Capstick; “and all the world knows it; but the world don’t think the worse of ‘em for it, and for this reason; they can when they like, so well hide their claws. Now poor little Velvet here—poor vermin martyr!—he can’t disguise what he has, and so he’s hunted and worried for being, as I may say, plain-spoken; while puss is petted, and may sleep all day long at the fire, because she’s so glossy, and looks so innocent; and all the while, has she not murderous teeth and talons?”—*St. Giles and St. James.*

author's sketches. Such a jewel does not require a foil. We shall meet with Elepoo again.

The first four years of Taou-Kwang's reign passed over in peace and unexampled prosperity ; the emperor had little to do, but that little he did well. His ruling passion was the love of money ; but that passion was gratified in a decent old-gentlemanly fashion. The people were indifferently well pleased with him, and he had no special fault to find with them. He had no qualities fitted to call forth admiration ; but he was tolerably just, and no doubt sought the good of his people, and was willing to secure it, if that could be done without much trouble, or any expense. "It does not seem" (says our author) "that the emperor engaged in any particular pursuit ; his mind 'needed not to be constantly occupied, and required relaxation ' rather than incessant application." The eunuchs were the principal men who appeared before him, and they received his bhests in a few words, often very unintelligible." A good easy man, such as you meet with in many an English manor, enjoying of a morning his new-laid eggs and his newspaper, and then sauntering out with a gun on his shoulder and a pointer at his heels, not so much from a desire of doing execution amongst the partridges, as with a view to check a hereditary tendency to corpulency.

But these halcyon days, these "piping times of peace" could not last always. The first interruption was from a revolt of the Turkomans, whose country had been added to the Chinese empire in the days of Keenlung. These men, goaded to madness by the oppression to which they were subjected, and having their national animosities inflamed by religious enthusiasm, were organized and led on by Jehangir, a man of dauntless courage, but little skill in strategetic arts. A great army was raised and sent against him, and the balance of victory vibrated for a considerable time. There was every probability that it would finally settle in favor of the Turkomans, until silver was brought to the aid of steel. The followers of Jehangir, even those that he had considered the most faithful, could not resist the soft persuasion of the Sycee. They deserted him one after another, gave up the cities that he had taken, and at last one of them betrayed himself into the hands of his enemies. The fate of this Oriental Wallace was not unlike that of his Caledonian prototype. He was taken to Pekin, and there his body was hacked to pieces, Taou-Kwang the while looking on, and taking such pleasure as he might in the spectacle ! The Turkomans were now at the mercy of the Chinese, and their tender mercies were cruel. Turkistan was

turned into a desert; thus Taou-Kwang took what some men call a noble revenge!

This rising took place in 1826 and 1827. The effect was to drain the treasury of the empire, and thereby to entail difficulties upon the emperor, from which he seems never afterwards to have been wholly extricated. For one thing it led to the virtual sale of all offices. That is to say, patriotic gifts were solicited. These were given with the tacit understanding that the donors should be recompensed for their gifts by official appointments. These they no sooner received, than they set themselves to fleece the people for their own re-imbursement; and they did not of course keep very accurate accounts, or cease the operation of fleecing when they had realized the sum that their offices had cost them.

The next disturbance of the emperor's peace of mind arose from an earthquake which occurred in the province of Honan, by which thousands of lives were lost; and from an inundation of the river Yang-tze-keang, which overflowed the whole country around Nankin, drowned many persons, and by destroying the crops, introduced all the miseries of famine. Taou-Kwang seems to have been deeply affected by these calamities, and to have really exerted himself to relieve the distress.

In 1830 fresh disturbances broke out in Turkistan; but the emperor, profiting by his former experience, managed to put them down by judicious applications of money. But while peace was thus established, domestic calamities pressed heavily on the emperor. The detail of these we must give in our author's words:—

The emperor had several children born to him; amongst others a son who had now (1831) reached his twentieth year. He was the heir-presumptive, as many believed; and proud, perhaps, of his high destiny, he gave offence to his father. A quarrel ensued, in which it is said the emperor lost his temper, and gave personally, with his own hand, chastisement to the prince. The young man was infected with the vice of opium smoking, at that time very common in the Harem, and died from the consequences of it. This occasioned many evil rumours, and Taou-Kwang was himself accused of being the murderer of his child; though there is certain evidence to prove that he was almost inconsolable at his death. \* \* \* The shock, however, was too great for the emperor: he fell sick of a very serious disorder, his life was despaired of, and his brother, Hwuy-wang, fixed upon as his successor, the very prince who at his accession was too young to be entrusted with the cares of the State. A strong faction was formed at the court in favor of this prince, who had a great name for sagacity and moderation; but the spell was soon dissolved by the recovery of the sovereign, who hence conceived a great dislike towards the competitor, and repeatedly degraded him. This was not, however, the only misfortune that befel Taou Kwang; one much more deeply felt by him, was the loss of his spouse, in whom all his affections were centred. He had loved and esteemed her while still a prince, and he

shared with her all the imperial pomp. This event happened not long after the celebration of his fiftieth birth-day, when he was just recovering from his malady. He seemed to be stupefied by this bereavement, and withdrew for some time from public business, and indulged his grief. When he was at length roused from his lethargy by the ministers, he was so indignant at their intrusion, that he disgraced them all.

The emperor's grief at the loss of his son would not be received by a judge and jury as in itself affording proof positive that he had no hand in his death. But yet we think it is exceedingly improbable that he had. Although he might so far forget himself as to strike a hasty blow, it would have been inconsistent with the whole current of his character, that he should have contrived the death of his son. The passage we have quoted is somewhat obscure, but we do not suppose it is intended to express that the rumours referred to, imputed the prince's death to the chastisement he received at the hand of his father; but rather that the fact of that chastisement inflicted so shortly before his death, gave rise to the suspicion that the enraged father carried his resentment so far as to compass the death of his son by other and less violent means; and this, we think, is unlikely to an extreme degree.

As to the emperor's concentration of his affection upon his wife, there are several passages in the book which we find it difficult to reconcile. Take for example the following: "To give an example of continence, Taou-Kwang confined himself, in his intercourse with the sex, to the woman of his choice, whom he had long before married; and he raised her to the dignity of empress."—P. 51. Compare this with the following:—"Thither (to a country-seat near Pekin) the emperor retired, to spend the time with his friends and some concubines; and there he was seen to glide solitarily through glades of trees; or in company of some women, proceed in a boat along the miniature rivers. He was then lost to all the world; eunuchs guarding carefully the entrance, and all business being banished from these sacred precincts."—P. 74. This is represented as the life that he habitually led, and we confess that it does not in our opinion indicate a very strict continence. Take another extract.—"His mind was partly relieved by the report that two Chinese concubines had borne him two sons, (one, the present emperor, Hien-Fung, born in September, 1831,) to be a support to his declining years."—P. 102. We confess our inability to reconcile these statements, and strongly suspect that they are irreconcileable.

Several years seem to have passed in a sort of disturbed peace, or petty warlike operations against sundry rebellious provinces; the armies that the emperor sent against them, were,

generally, as it appears, unsuccessful; and then he had recourse to the means that had stood him in so good stead in Turkistan. The insurgents were bribed to give up their leaders. These were sent to Pekin and cut in pieces, and a famous victory was gazetted. This is a singular feature in the Chinese character. The emperor is perpetually issuing proclamations which he knows to be utterly false; the people know them to be false; but they profess to believe them. The emperor probably knows that they do not believe them, and they probably know that he knows that they do not believe them; but the surface is kept smooth; and that is a great matter in China,—and elsewhere!

In the midst of these distractions, Taou-Kwang solaced himself by a second marriage. The object of his choice seems to have been a paragon of excellence. Let us give Dr. Gutzlaff's account of her:—

Taou Kwang was still mourning on account of the death of his consort, with whom he had enjoyed for twenty six years connubial bliss, when a beautiful woman, with the highest accomplishments, drew upon herself his choice as second empress. She was a Manchoo maiden, who, instead of whiling away her time in frivolous pursuits, had betaken herself to literature, and studied statistics. Being acquainted with all the details of Government, she filled her now exalted sphere with much dignity. She knew how little judgment her husband possessed, how unable he was to sway the empire; and she resolved forthwith to become his proxy without appearing so.

So then it appears that *bas bleus* can be made to fit the smallest feet; and certain other garments to fit other Chinese female limbs! We continue our quotation:—

The Chinese look upon the government of women as the worst slavery, and would never allow any to assume supreme authority. The lady therefore, instead of ostensibly meddling in politics, lived in the innermost recesses of the Harem, and directed the whole machinery with consummate skill. There was not a single important measure in contemplation, of which she did not previously receive notice. The attachment of her husband to her was unbounded, and she used this power for the weal of the country, to guide his steps. The most distinguished statesmen were recommended by her to his choice; and all proceedings was so arranged that they answered this end.

No period during his whole reign shewed so much vigor and activity. The new men she chose, and the measures which she put into operation, proved efficient; and from one end of the empire to the other her beneficial yet invisible power was felt. She was for years the guardian angel of the empire; the faithful, affectionate counsellor of the emperor, and the mother of the country; for in works of benevolence she shone conspicuous. Yet she never usurped power; never obtruded herself; never kept favorites to promote them to high offices. Thus she was a powerful aid to her august spouse for almost six years, incessantly occupied with the welfare of the nation, and never giving any occasion for slander to say that she held the reins of Government.

Unfortunately, she had no children, and another woman more beautiful than she herself, being put in the way of her husband, he fell in love, neg-

lected his faithful and affectionate wife, and caused her death by his indifference.

A good, likeable, sensible woman this, and well worthy of a better fate. With these details before us we can scarcely endorse our author's certificate of Taou-Kwang's exemplary conduct in his domestic relations. He might be much better in these respects than many others—his own father for example; but it was one of the first lessons that we learned,—and we have never since unlearned it—that "two blacks do not make a white." But in judging of Taou-Kwang, it is only fair to consider the circumstances of his birth and education. He was a Manchoo, brought up in the court of a tyrannical grandfather, and afterwards in that of a monstrously licentious father. He was not a man of much mind or character, and it is surprising that he resisted so well as he did the evil influences to which he was exposed. These considerations, while they must not lead us to approve much of his conduct, may well incline us to charity in our judgment of the man. He was good for an emperor of China, at the very top of his class; but that class is a low one in the scale of morality and intelligence.

We may safely presume that our readers are in general well acquainted with the relations that subsisted between China and Great Britain during the existence of the East India Company's monopoly of the China trade, and with the constant bickerings that ensued between the agents of the Company on the one hand, and the Hong merchants and authorities of Canton on the other. The abolition of that monopoly on the granting of the present Charter, and the appointment of a British nobleman to protect the interests of our commerce, then thrown open to public competition, was the beginning of that series of events, which eventually, in 1840, brought matters to a crisis. It was a great grievance to the Chinese authorities, that Lord Napier, the appointed guardian of British trade, insisted on remaining at Canton. They insisted upon his residing at Macao, and visiting Canton only on permission granted, when he had business to transact. They refused to receive his letters, and directed the Hong merchants to stop the trade. The following is a fair specimen of the tone that they adopted. It is an official despatch from the governor of Canton to the emperor:—

The disposition of the English barbarians is ferocious. They trust in the strength of their ships, and the effectiveness of their guns; but the inner seas having but shallow water, with many banks and rocks, the said barbarian ships, though they should discharge their guns, cannot do it.

with full effect. The barbarian eye having placed himself in the central flowery land, we are in the state relatively of host and guest. If he should madly think to overleap the bounds, our troops may composedly wait to do their work; and he will be found powerless.

These utterances were given forth, as we believe, in perfect sincerity and good faith. The Chinese were perfectly ignorant of our resources, and of the power of our ships, guns and troops. In the very first number of the *Calcutta Review*, it is humorously, but sadly, shown, that this ignorance was mutual, and that it was the cause of many sad events. The English had been accustomed to regard the Chinese with a degree of contempt, quite equal to that with which the Chinese regarded the English; and the idea that they could make any head against a British army, never entered into any sane mind. But we are anticipating the order of events. The emperor and his advisers did not at this time expect that war would ever befall, or that the "outside barbarians" would ever dare to incur the severe displeasure of the prince of princes. No preparations were made for war. The army was sadly disorganized; the navy was little better than a nullity; the forts at the mouths of the rivers were supposed to be amply sufficient to keep the foreigners at a distance. When, therefore, two British frigates passed the Bogue forts, heedless of the fire that was opened upon them, and moved up to the anchorage at Canton, the emperor fulminated a tremendous despatch against those who had so far forgotten their duty as to permit them to pass. He also suggested that the army and navy should be improved; but nothing was really done; and Lord Napier's death, and the settlement of the difficulties between the traders and the Hong merchants, put a stop for that time to any further proceedings. The trade went on; opium became an indispensable necessary to hundreds of thousands of the Chinese people of all ranks; and notwithstanding the prohibition of its importation, was actually imported to so great an extent, that the price of it not only swallowed up the whole price of the tea exported, but besides drained the country of silver to a great extent. This alarmed the emperor, who put forth all the severity of those penal enactments with which the Chinese code abounds, in order to stop the importation of the drug. The Commissioner Lin was appointed, as the most unrelenting functionary in the whole empire, with full powers by every means to repress the evil. The history of this anxious time, and especially of the conduct of the British Commissioner Elliott, in giving up the whole of the opium then in the ships off the coast for destruction, must be

fresh in the remembrance of all our readers. It was now evident, however, even to the emperor, that the English were not disposed any longer to submit to his arbitrary measures; and in 1840, when a small British squadron appeared off the coast, they did not find the Chinese wholly unprepared to receive them.

The whole events of the war are so fully sketched in the article to which we have already alluded in the first number of the *Calcutta Review*, that we need not repeat any of the details here. As to the efforts that were industriously made, in India and in England, to vindicate the war from the character ascribed to it of an "opium war," we must say that in our estimation they were unsuccessful. It might be called a war in defence of free trade, and so it was; but only in defence of free trade *in opium*. It might be called a war of vengeance for the injuries done to British subjects and their property—but that property was opium, and these persons were injured solely in consequence of their violating the Chinese laws in their capacity of opium-traders. As to the abstract right of a nation to interfere with the freedom of trade, we shall say nothing; but it is a right that is claimed and exercised by every nation under heaven that engages in foreign commerce; and by the English no less than the Chinese. Our opinion therefore is that the war on our part was wholly unjustifiable. This is a humiliating confession; but we cannot help it. We believe that good has come out of the war, ultimate good to China; but this is to be ascribed to the all-ruling providence of Him, whose sublime attribute it is to be "from seeming evil still educating good,"—aye, and from real evil too.

We are not sure that the amount of the despair to which our victories reduced the Chinese has ever been so fully stated as it is in the work before us. It is well known that every defeat sustained by the Chinese was reported to Pekin, and blazoned forth in official gazettes, as a glorious victory. But our old hedge-hog friend Elepoo had courage to tell the truth; and when there was every appearance to indicate that our army would advance upon Pekin, he dared to tell the emperor so. Such was the effect of this intelligence upon the mind of the emperor, that he actually "gave orders that his effects should 'be packed up, that he might fly to some of the interior provinces." This fine fellow had previously been disgraced, because he had fulfilled an engagement to give up some English prisoners; but his master knew that, despite that honesty which was in his eye the greatest fault, he had qualities which made his services too valuable to be dispensed with; and it is

to him that the termination of the war is doubtless to be ascribed. He died just after the conclusion of the negotiations, —clearly the saviour of his country.

The British war was the last event of any importance in the life of Taou-Kwang. His old age was not spent in peace. Insurrections in various parts of the empire, and the low state of his treasury, were constant sources of grief and anxiety. Above all he was made to feel that the *prestige* of invincibility had departed from him. Although the gazettes represented matters as if the result of the war had been a complete victory on the part of the Chinese, yet every man in the empire knew that this was not the case, although they might not know the full extent of the humiliation to which the emperor had been subjected, and of the concessions that he had been compelled to make. The effect of this knowledge was doubtless a diminution of his authority over his own subjects, and an increase of the frequency of insurrections, which even in the early part of his reign were of frequent occurrence. To the insurgents he was obliged to make concessions; and of course their demands rose gradually as they discovered their own power, till at length many parts of the country were in a state bordering upon anarchy. He now made a bold stroke for popularity by espousing the cause of the people, as against the nobles and Mandarins—a course of policy not unknown amongst despotic rulers. This course of proceeding gained only in a very trifling degree the affections of the people, with whom he never came into immediate contact, while it alienated from him those of the nobles with whom he associated—if affection indeed they had, other than the one master-passion of self-interest. Amidst those distresses he had but one satisfaction, a wretched one truly—but fitted to the calibre of his mind. “Whilst the national treasury was empty, Taou-Kwang’s was full. Even during the war, he had been accumulating large sums of money from the confiscated property of unsuccessful grandees; who were, without distinction, sentenced to heavy penalties, or who lost their all by a single stroke of the vermilion pencil. With increasing years the avarice of Taou-Kwang increased: he would not part with a single ounce of silver, which lay then in an immense heap, useless to himself and others: his heart was entirely in his treasure, and he felt wretched if he could not constantly survey the glittering baubles spread before him.” An attack of severe illness in 1845 gave occasion to a re-production of the same discussion respecting the succession, that had vexed him so much in 1831. On his recovery, he entered into a compromise with his brother,

to the effect that Hwuy-Wang should succeed, but that he should adopt the son of Taou-Kwang, and ensure to him the next succession. Six long and weary years did the old man wear out,—years of distraction and anxiety, relieved only by the contemplation of his well-filled coffers.

At length that death, in whose “warfare there is no discharge,” removed him, at once from the anxieties of empire, and from the delights of wealth, on the 25th February, 1851. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and the thirty-first of his reign.

An eventful reign it was for China, beyond any that had gone before, and fraught with results which will only be developed in the distant future. The future! China's future! What is destined to be its complexion? It is a solemn question; and the full answer to it is hid in the counsels of Him who alone “knoweth the end from the beginning.” But this we may safely say, that things cannot very long remain in their present state. Even now China no longer stands quite apart from the world; her people have been, to a small but a real extent, constrained to acknowledge the brotherhood of humanity. Commerce is exerting its civilizing influence upon them to a degree unknown before. The Gospel, which ever makes progress, however imperceptibly, has been introduced amongst the teeming millions, and it will work upon them a sure ultimate effect—that effect which it has ever produced upon the nations amongst whom it has been diffused in its purity; the growth of the highest order of civilization, the gradual development of free political institutions, the diminution of human sufferings, and the augmentation of rational enjoyment.

Whether China is destined to continue an undivided empire, is a question beyond our power to solve. Certainly it appears, that under its present form of Government, it cannot long hang together. But whether the Government shall be modified, or whether the empire shall be broken up, it is impossible to predict. Equally beyond our reach it is to answer the question, whether, in the event of a disruption, the fragments will consolidate into independent kingdoms or republics under native rule, or whether some of them will become provinces of foreign powers; whether some section of the Anglo-Saxon race is destined to rule over portions of this mighty empire, and Japhet to dwell in the tents of his brethren, or whether they are to dwell together in unity and peace, united by the ties of a mutually beneficial commerce, a common civilization, and a common faith. That the one or the other of these events will be yet realized, we do not hesitate to affirm with confidence; and although a

long time may yet have to elapse, and many sad and deplorable events may be appointed to occur, we have no doubt as to the ultimate issue.

And now to return to the work before us; we have freely expressed our dissent from our author's opinions on some points, but we have great confidence in the truth of his statements, and the general correctness of his views. The volume will well repay perusal, and we have much pleasure in cordially recommending it to our readers, both as the life of a somewhat remarkable man, sketched with judgment and discrimination, and one casting much light on the condition of a large portion of the human family.

As to the character of Taou-Kwang himself, intellectual and moral, we must, as we have already said, judge him as a Tartar prince. We have been struck in the course of reading his life with the resemblance of his mental character and habitudes to those of a late English monarch. "He would have shone," says Dr. Gutzlaff, "as an honest farmer; and in any position of life where solid qualities, but not a bright understanding, were required." Economical to a degree bordering upon penuriousness; kindly and gentle in his own feelings, and affable to an unusual extent, yet stern to excess in the maintenance of the severity of a barbarous penal code. Devotedly attached to a religion, not in its genius intolerant, yet personally intolerant from a mistaken notion of what that religion required of him. Fond of the quiet of retirement, yet unhappy in his own family to whom he was devoted; a lover of peace, yet engaged in an endless succession of wars, and in his latter days in the most important warfare that ever employed the arms of his country—all this might be said indifferently of Taou-Kwang or of George the Third. And as the latter prince was a worthy man, and not upon the whole a bad king, so was the former perhaps as good a man as the religion and morality of China could be expected to produce, and as good an emperor as the political system and constitution of the empire would admit.

ART. III.—*Saunders's Monthly Magazine*, Nos. V. and VI.—  
Article “Vedantism; or, the Religion of the Vedanta.”

IN noticing Mr. Mullens's Prize Essay on Vedantism, in our last number, we refrained from entering into a full discussion on the subject, having already frequently alluded to its character and dogmas in prior numbers of the *Review*. But the simultaneous appearance of an essay on Vedantism in *Saunders's Delhi Magazine* directs our attention to the theme once more; and we embrace this opportunity of contrasting Vedantism with Christianity, not with respect to their origin, but with respect to their quality. We shall not ask whence the rival systems severally come, but only what they are. We shall leave the question of revelation altogether apart for the present, and examine the rivals only in an utilitarian light. The world is getting more and more utilitarian every day. Let Utility then answer if she prefers Vedantism to Christianity.

Vedantism declares that God is one, one without a second; absolutely, and by necessity of nature, one. This is also the Christian's faith—yea, it is the very fundamental article of his creed. “Hear, O Israel! the Lord our God is one God.” But the monotheism of the Bible means only to deny the existence of other gods. Vedantism goes further, for it also denies the distinct existence of all other creatures. God alone exists, alone in all the universe, and nothing exists but He. Every other apparent thing, that lives, moves, or hath a being, is only a part of His eternal and uncreated spirit, and destined, when purified from the pollution it has derived from its connection with matter, to be absorbed into Him again. This is the orthodox Vedantic opinion. Some regard it as overwhelmingly grand. An absolute unity—*one without a second*, displaying itself in diverse characters, through the medium of illusions, is perhaps a magnificent idea, that overwhelms us with a vengeance! It is certainly one well calculated to amuse the genius of speculation, of fancy, and of dogmatism. But it brings with it no conviction; for it is too far removed from the sphere of reason and common sense. Our own faculties rebel against the hypothesis, and reject it as sublimely fantastical. The Christian feels that he cannot subscribe to it. His God too, he believes, is every where, filling heaven and earth with His immensity, and present alike in beings animate and inanimate. Yes, He is the beauty of the stars, the brightness of the sun, the purity of the heavens; from Him the politician derives his sagacity, the philosopher his wisdom, the soldier his coolness

and undaunted courage: we all breathe His air, His spirit animates us, His power upholds us, His guidance directs us; in short, "in Him we live and move, and have our being!" But this idea of the divine nature is independent of the existence of the things and lives thus pervaded by the Deity, and the spirit of God is never confounded into sameness with the spirit of man. The Christian believes that all life has been created by, and is distinct from, God. Nothing approaches him either in nature or in magnitude, and no virtue can render the spirit of man absorbable into that of his Maker. Nay more, he believes that not only is the human soul distinct from God, but distinct in each individual. As many men, so many souls. The Hindu farmer has not a common soul with the czar of Russia, no, nor with the wandering Esquimaux of the Arctic regions.

Now, we ask not which of these doctrines is true, but we ask which is more useful; whether it is more for the advantage of men that they should receive a doctrine which is in accordance with the consciousness and judgment, and common sense of all mankind, or that they should strive to persuade themselves into a belief that they do in some way believe a doctrine which is contradictory of all the dictates of consciousness and common sense.

The God of the Vedanta is again represented as apathetic to the concerns of the world—inhabiting, in a state of profound abstraction and infinite blessedness, his own eternity. This too is a strange idea, and must have originated in the mistaken notion, that the conduct of the world would be an employment sufficiently irksome to disturb his felicity. It leaves us exposed to the buffetings of a cruel world, without a single prop to support us, deprives us of every hope of assistance, and throws us, infirm as we are, altogether on our own imbecile resources. It too militates strongly against the Christian's belief, who recognizes the Divine Providence exercising a constant superintendence over the affairs of life, and continually interested in the well-being of His creatures. The God of the Bible sleeps not; and nothing happens in all the universe but what He has designed and foreknown. He is represented as standing to us in the nearest relations, as our "father," by whom we are protected every moment of our lives; as our "counsellor," by whom we are instructed in the duties of our station; as our trust and stay in danger, and our solace and comfort in affliction. If God were indeed "like one asleep," as the Vedanta represents Him, and unmindful of our ways and doings, there could be no utility of such a being, as far as we are concerned, and the necessity of paying him any sort of

adoration or homage would altogether cease; for he that cares not for his creatures, of course cares little whether they exalt or neglect him. The necessity of acting well in life would necessarily cease also.

The Christian again clothes his God in a radiant panoply of moral attributes, but the Vedanta allows no such perfection to Brahma. He is omnipotent and he is eternal, self-existent and unchangeable; in a word, the greatest of beings. But the qualities that could alone make such a nature attractive to man are not allowed to him. He is merely a great being. Not a single feature in his character is calculated to win for him the affections of the human heart. He does not love, and he does not hate—he is neither merciful nor benevolent, neither jealous nor capable of wrath. Even the fundamental point, that God conceived a desire to create worlds, is hotly contested by subtle disputants, on the ground, that it is impracticable for a simple being like Brahma to feel any feeling, and that it would be a reproach on his immutable nature to suppose that he should cherish any desire. He is *nirgun*, or devoid of qualities. Christianity, on the contrary, speaks explicitly, not only of the love and mercy, the goodness and truth of God, but, also, of His jealousy and wrath; and almost seems to assert, that to deny Him these attributes is to deny, so far as human nature is concerned, that there is a God at all. He is wrathful because of His bitter hatred of sin, and He is jealous because He will not relinquish His glory, nor His praise, in favor of graven images; for beside Him there is no other God.

The notion of God, as inculcated by the Vedanta, is also too metaphysical to answer any useful purpose. All classes of men alike require religious instruction. The unlettered workman stands in as much need of it, as the learned sage; the poorest man wants it as urgently as the richest. But all have not the same mental powers. The intellects of all are not equally strong. Hence the need of a religion, simple in all its principal bearings, adapted to every understanding, and competent to guide all men to one peaceful haven. And this need the Vedanta does not supply. It is not only beyond the appreciation of the vulgar, as it itself very candidly presumes, but, we should say, it is unsuited to the apprehension of all. At every step the enquirer finds himself lost as in the intricacies of a labyrinth, for even its most essential doctrines partake more of the character of metaphysical and enigmatical problems to puzzle the wise, than of admitted religious truths for all to accept. The very Upanishads themselves bear testimony how some of the subtlest philosophers were perplexed in endeavouring to

appreciate the religion. As an instance, we need cite only the queries of Ushwaputi, in the Ch'handagya Upanishad, to the six enquirers after divine knowledge, who came to him for instruction, together with their answers. "Whom dost thou worship?" he asks of each of them individually; and one answers that he worships "heaven," another "the sun," the third "air," the fourth "ether," the fifth "water," and the sixth "the earth." These were the answers, not of ignorant men unlearned in the Scriptures, but of sages who were, to quote the language of the Upanishad, "deeply conversant with holy writ." In another place, in the same Upanishad, Narúda, soliciting instruction from Sanutcumar, says of his previous studies, "I have learnt the Rig Ved, the Yajur Ved, the Sam Ved, the Atharvan, the fourth, the Itihasa and Puran," &c. \* \* \* "All these have I studied, yet do I only know the text, and have no knowledge of the soul." Few enquirers ever come so prepared to the search after truth; and if even those who do this can err so widely, the fault must be in the system, and not in the men. How far the Vedanta would have been sufficient to meet the wants of the human race, if all men had been philosophers, is not the question; though its success even in that case may well be doubted. We must take men as we find them, and not as we might wish they had been; and we find them ignorant and wretched, poor victims of their passions and prejudices, the best sullied with sin, the worst wallowing in iniquity. For such a multitude, a religion so obscure can have no charms, and people might well prefer, as they have done, rather to bow to stocks and stones, and images created by themselves, than approach the pale of its mysteries. Christianity is wholly free from such obscurity. It is open to the comprehension of all, the learned and the unlearned, the sage philosopher, and the illiterate peasant. The fundamental truths of the religion lie within reach of people of the meanest capacities. To the lowly in spirit, and the humble in heart, was it originally preached, and, though more than eighteen hundred years have elapsed since its first promulgation, the lowly in spirit and the humble in judgment are still its staunchest followers. It does not appeal to philosophy in addressing the ignorant, for philosophy mistrusts herself, and has never yet succeeded in curing a distracted mind. It appeals to its own pure doctrines, and to the heart of the sinner who approaches it. Hence has such triumphant success attended its footsteps, hence have men of every variety of temper, rank and circumstance acknowledged its influence.

Vedantism believes also in the perfection of the human spirit. The soul is a spark of the Deity, and can never err. "As a crystal may receive on its surface the reflection of the 'colours of a flower, itself remaining clear and undergoing no 'change,' even so the soul is unaffected by sin. All that is wrong is its connection with matter, or rather with illusion; and it is this only that renders it liable to rewards and punishments, to neither of which, as pure spirit, it would otherwise have been subject. Christianity, on the contrary, is founded upon the fact of the soul's depravity, and points to all its doctrines, as forming together one great scheme to redeem it. The one says, "think on God wholly and exclusively, and you will be re-united 'to Him;"—the other,—"kneel and pray, and repent of your 'wickedness, and do what is lawful and right, that you may be 'saved from destruction." The one, like Satan in the Bible history, says, do this and ye shall be gods—the other avers that the highest virtue will not cover all the transgressions of our sinful nature, and that the holiest of men must be indebted to the mercy of God for final salvation. Of the two, the belief of the Christian is surely far better calculated to teach us humility, and our immeasurable distance from the Deity. Man, oppressed by the weight of his iniquity, can find neither comfort nor consolation in the idea of being consubstantial with his Maker. It does not satisfy the longings of the soul. It is a vain chimera of philosophy, and as pernicious as it is vain; for it not only deludes the understanding, but also corrupts the heart; unsettling the very foundations of virtue and religion. The mortifying fact that we are sinners all, cannot be repeated to us too often.

Again, while Christianity requires us to purify and elevate our passions and affections, Vedantism reckons them a reproach, and directs us to extirpate them altogether. While the one enjoins on us the practice of piety and moral rectitude, the other upholds apathy as our only duty on earth. Spiritual and secular occupations, the Vedantic system presumes, cannot be pursued together. Heaven, or rather absorption, is to be won only by eschewing the earth, and by completely withdrawing ourselves from it; and the beau-ideal of a human character is represented to consist in the absence alike of love and antipathy, of joy and sorrow, of good and evil desires, or, in one word, in total self-unconsciousness. On the plea of seeking the knowledge of God, one may ease himself altogether, if he likes, of the yoke of works. You need not love your neighbours, nor relieve the poor, you need not admit even the claims of your family on your affection and assistance. If you endeavour to make yourself profitable to others, it will

be a drawback to your attainment of final beatitude ; for social feelings are all unrealities, the workings of nature within the heart are indicative of sheer ignorance ; and while ignorance continues, there is no hope of salvation. Virtues have their rewards, but the rewards of virtue are impediments to absorption. Be indifferent therefore to the affairs of life, and alive only to the misery you are born to—the misery of being connected with matter. The object of life is only to get free from the trammels of an individuated existence, and all its duties therefore consist simply in thoughtless abstraction, which alone can secure to the soul her freedom. Christianity, on the other hand, considers perfect indifference a monster in morality, and enjoins on all a life of constant well-doing. The glory of the great God, whom the Christian recognizes, is intimately allied with the good of His created millions, and the noblest duty of those who look forward to a future world, is stated to consist in the endeavour to realize to the whole human species the greatest amount of happiness in this.

Vedantism again has no moral code to define good from evil actions. A general and vague recommendation of virtue it may boast of indeed, in common with all other religions ; but in what that virtue consists it does not clearly lay down. Scattered passages in the Vedas are referred to, in order to show that this should be done, that not ; but these precepts too often diametrically contradict each other, and the declarations of duty are enforced by no moral suasion. He that does not perform what he is required to perform, is liable not to any punishment for his disobedience, but only to a loss of the reward attendant upon compliance. The Bible throughout, on the other hand, is perfect as a code of moral precepts, defining clearly and authoritatively the duties of man to God, to himself, and to his fellow-creatures. Not content with a vague recommendation of virtue, it minutely lays down the details of our obligations, and these precepts are not only taught but also exemplified. Christ tells us what we ought to do, and at the same time shows us how it is to be done—while his lessons inform us of the duties which ought to be practised, his conduct convinces us that they are all practicable. And the performance of these obligations is enforced both by promises and threats—promises to the obedient, and threats to the uncomplying. We are surely not hazarding anything outrageously extravagant in maintaining, that the superiority of Christian ethics over those of the Vedanta, is in itself a sufficient argument to establish the point, that, as a religion adapted to the necessities and instruction of mankind, Christianity is far superior to her rival.

Vedantism further attaches too much importance to shadows, leaving the substance unheeded, to be of much real utility. "All rites ordained in the Vedas," says Manu, "oblations to fire, and other sacrifices, pass away ; but that which passes not away is the *syllable OM*, the symbol of God ;" and, with reference to the same term, says the Cutho Upanishad, "Man having recourse to this *word* shall either be absorbed in God, or be revered like Brahma ;" as if the repetition of a single word, whatever may be its supposed sanctity, were sufficient to purify one from crimes. Mark what counterpart Christianity presents to this—"When the wicked man turneth away from the wickedness which he hath committed, and doeth that which is lawful and right, he shall save his soul alive." It is not sufficient to utter the name of God repeatedly over and over, and tire our lips—it is not enough even to reiterate our prayer, but we must bring our contrite hearts as a sacrifice to the Lord, and in words—or without words, but in unutterable agony, with groanings of the spirit, ask for forgiveness.

So also Vedantism *speaks* of God always in the highest tone. We frequently meet with lofty conceptions of his attributes, expressed in striking and beautiful language, in many of the commentaries and strictures which treat of the subject. But when these glowing descriptions are analysed, when the perfection and sufficiency allowed to the Deity are attempted to be reconciled with the dogmas of the faith, alas ! there is nothing at bottom but "words, words, words." He is *omnipotent*, but, except in the simple wish which gave birth to *maya*, his omnipotence appears never to have exerted its energy. The world he created through the agency of that wish is an illusive world, because even he cannot create matter out of nothing. He is *omniscient*, but totally unencumbered with the cares of the world, and absorbed in his own unity ;—*all-perfect*, but having no positive moral qualities ;—*supremely happy*, but insensible as a clod of earth ! How correct and consistent, compared with this, is the representation of God in the pages of the Bible ! His absolute and supreme authority is therein everywhere asserted, and nowhere compromised ; His infinite knowledge and wisdom are everywhere exalted ; His paternal solicitude is described in terms the best calculated to make it endearing ; and the perfection of His character is vindicated by the admission of the noblest qualities in their highest and inconceivable purity.

The adoration of God, as enjoined by the Vedanta, also, seems to us to be nothing more than a recognition of the existence

of the Deity, and a meditation upon Him in some such sense, we believe, as some grand metaphysical problems are meditated upon. He is directed to be sought by profound contemplation ; but there is no religious or moral worship for Brahma. By devotion and virtuous practices, says the Mundaca, the Supreme Being is not to be conceived. A dreamy and passive meditation is everywhere pointed out as the only way of knowing Him. What this sort of worship, in a sound rational point of view can be conducive to, we see not. Controversies, writings and disputations can never reconcile it to the human heart. And hence, in the absence of other beliefs, has the Hindu mind so completely sold itself to a debasing superstition, thus virtually recognizing the claims of heroes and other earthly benefactors to their gratitude, in preference to those of an Almighty Creator, who is to be worshipped only by apathetic abstraction. Christianity, on the contrary, directs us to love God with all our heart, with all our soul, with all our strength ; and this constitutes the basis of the worship enjoined by Christian ethics—a worship simple enough for the most illiterate mind, and at the same time satisfying the mightiest intellects.\*

This world, again, according to the Vedanta, is all an illusion—this world, where man is placed to act, hedged with so many faculties, is nothing but a show—a picture—a dream, not metaphorically, but actually an illusion. This, as a theological speculation, is, to say the least of it, too mystical and refined, and followed out to its logical consequences, is more calculated to plunge us into scepticism than confirm us in religion. It is with reference to just such a hypothesis, that M. Cousin so very pertinently observes, that, “A God without a ‘ world is as false as a world without a God.’ Christianity, too, speaks of the nothingness of this life, but quite in another sense. It points out to an eternal future, compared to which this is indeed a fleeting existence, and to be prepared for which is the consummation it upholds. But Vedantism holds out no individuated future existence to the knower of God. As a separate being he lives in this life alone, and this life is an illusion ! Alas, for humanity !

But why is this world an illusion ? What are your proofs that it is so ? asks common sense of the Vedantist. And what

\* The Brahma Subha maintains that, according to the Vedanta also, God should be worshipped with gratitude, veneration and love. To this we can only answer, in the words of Colonel Vans Kennedy, that “such expressions as love and fear of God never occur in those sacred books, (the Vedas,) nor in any Vedanta treatise, although the terms themselves are frequently used” to express a different meaning.

is his answer? From spirit, says the subtle metaphysician, actual matter cannot be educed, and, as nothing else existed from everlasting but the spiritual first cause, nothing else exists at this moment but he. He could not have created the world without materials:—the world—the universe is therefore a delusion! The Bible, in noble contrast to these little subterfuges, maintains that God created the heavens and the earth, summoned them out of nothing by His Omnipotent mandate, and hung them out as witnesses of His power!

The idea of immortality, also, as inculcated by the Vedanta, even were it reconcileable with reason, is too speculative, superfine, and curious to suit the nature of mankind. Dissolution of individual existence, “with faculties transcendent for enjoyment, ‘but not for action,’ is the greatest reward held out to man. The enfranchised spirit is for ever identified with the divine nature. “As rivers flowing merge into the sea, losing both ‘name and form, so the knower of God, freed from name and ‘form, merges in Him who is the excellence of all excellencies”—as bubbles bursting are lost on the parent stream, so is the spirit of man after death resolved in the immensity of God. This assuredly is very unsatisfactory. We agree with Jumudugni, who observed, that “the idea of losing a distinct existence, as a drop ‘lost in the ocean, is abhorrent:” for after all, this much coveted absorption is but a sort of annihilation. The futurity preached by Christ, though not so arrogantly high, is far more attractive. It is, in fact, what Prithu, the grandson of Suaymbhava, is stated to have preferred, when he rejected both the sorts of blessedness which the Vedanta offers, both absorption into Brahma, and pleasure with the minor deities in their paradise. “I neither ‘want the one nor the other,” said he, “but give me a place ‘where I may hear and learn the glories of God.”—“O God! ‘I desire not absorption,” said also Vilwu-mungulu, the poet; “I ask for a distinct existence, and to be always near thee, ‘my lord and master.” That men endowed with intellects—philosophers, poets and sages—should have preferred any other condition, and that through successive ages, is indeed very strange. The Bible holds out just the sort of felicity which Prithu and Vilwu-mungulu had longed for—a felicity satisfying the most exalted and enlarged desires of the heart, without partaking in nature with the Vedantist’s impious aspiration. “Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have ‘entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love Him.”

The idea of transmigration, also, which the Vedanta consi-

ders so well calculated to expiate guilt and wipe away sin, and which the Brahma Subha exultingly upholds as offering "a better view of our prospect in future, and one more in accordance with our notions of justice and mercy acting in unison with each other," than the Christian idea of eternal rewards and punishments, judged prejudice apart, must be pronounced as exceedingly absurd. It teaches man to believe that he is born under the influence of actions performed in a prior state of existence. If his circumstances in life are wretched, he is required to believe that it is a visitation of sins, committed when he was perhaps a Kalmuck Tartar, or a Mohican Indian, or may be a bird, or perchance a fish, or perhaps a horse. If he prosper, he is rewarded for the virtues he had done in like forms and conditions. But he retains no sense of his identity with the Kalmuck or the Mohican, nor with the bird, fish, or horse; and to all real purposes the Kalmuck, or the Mohican, the bird, fish, or horse is therefore neither rewarded nor punished, for they know nothing about the matter. It also encourages a spirit of procrastination in matters of religion, to which the human heart is all too prone. There can be no urgent necessity for making the most of our time, if besides this birth there be other opportunities of cultivating religion. "Let us enjoy our pleasures while we can," the sensualist will urge; "let me be ignorant for a season," will be the sluggard's excuse, "some other time we will make up our defection by our piety." Lastly, its dispensations are unjust. It suggests no solid hope of felicity to the good man after death. As a punishment for misdeeds done, transmigration holds out to the offender another opportunity for repeating them, and as a reward for virtuous actions, a repeated trial to the probationer, wherein one false step may annul past merit, and remand him to the abodes of pain. It cannot but surprise us that this perpetual transition from bliss to pain, from good to evil—this endless round of births under the influence of merit and demerit, this long-drawn string of exits and entrances, whereby the human soul is made a dependent agent—dependent on the influence of the works of a former birth—that even this has been by some professedly preferred to the Bible account of the destiny of man, so congenial to his nature as an accountable and moral agent, that after death comes the judgment!

Then again, the exclusiveness of the Vedanta renders it constitutionally unfit, as an universal religion. The Vedas are for the twice-born classes alone. The lower tribes are all debarred from the sacred books; and not only these, but along with them,

the whole female sex, or one-half of the human race. And the Vedanta cannot receive such to her bosom. Christianity, on the contrary, is for all men and women without exception.

“ Beneath the open sky she spreads the feast ;  
 'Tis free to all———”

But we need not continue the contrast further. We have said enough to establish the position that Christianity is in every respect better suited to humanize the mind, and better calculated to improve it, than the Vedanta ; which, though containing glimpses of the sublimest truths, and retaining terms and ideas expressive of high moral elevation, appears to us to be altogether inadequate, as a religion, to meet the wants and necessities, the hopes and aspirations, of mankind. If all the arguments we have used be insufficient to shake the strong prejudices of our Neo-Vedantists, we would ask them only to examine the practical success of the Gospel, which is traced in characters too broad to be unnoticed, or misread, and to answer what counter-part the Vedanta has to offer to that. Christianity has vindicated the rights of nature, upset customs and practices which in former ages were a disgrace to the human character, mitigated the horrors of war, assuaged the evils of slavery, and put a stop to barbarous amusements and public licentiousness. Even where existing in its worst form, corrupted and abused, it has raised the standard of ~~public~~ morals far beyond what heathen philosophy, in its ~~highest~~ perfection, ever did there before. Never, in the days of Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato were the Grecians,—low as they are at this moment,—so high as a moral people as now, though Christianity amongst them is like a withered trunk—a rotten tree. Never, in the days of Brutus, Cato, and Cincinnatus, were the Romans,—dark as their present corruption is,—more practically moral as a nation than now, even though perverted doctrines have marred amongst them all the sublimer features of Bible religion. All this has Christianity achieved, and all this has never been achieved by the Vedanta.

ART. IV.—1. *Instructions to Settlement Officers.*  
 2. *Report on the Settlement of Cawnpore.*  
 3. *Parliamentary Papers on the Renewal of the Charter.*

IT will be in the memory of most of our readers, that after the land customs and transit duties of Bengal were abolished, a long interval occurred, before a similar boon was conferred upon the Presidency of Madras. The principal cause of this delay was, the extent of revenue at stake. That is to say, the fact that the land customs at Madras were more numerous, more burdensome, and, consequently, more destructive of the internal commerce of the country, was one of the principal circumstances which deprived Madras of that relief, which this very fact proved the Presidency more particularly to stand in need of. Another equally important circumstance was, doubtless, the position of Madras, as a subordinate Presidency, the result being one which is scarcely separable from the extreme centralization of power which now prevails in the Government of India.

Tardy justice on these points has now been awarded to Madras; but similar results, from precisely the same causes, pervade, we believe, other branches of the administration; and our object in the following pages will be, to point out some instances in which they affect the settlement of land revenue. We hope to do so in no captious spirit. If the Presidency which enjoys the presence of the head of the Government is the first to benefit by the enlightened views of a Governor-General, or of those who have access to him, it is only natural that it should be so. If more distant provinces are neglected, it is not because any unfair partiality is intentionally shown, but because a written report is of less interest than a personal discussion, and a personal discussion than an actual knowledge of a country and its people.

But if it can be clearly shown, that while reforms have been carried out in the North Western Provinces, those reforms are still more emergently called for in the older and more heavily assessed possessions of the South;—that while the cultivators of the North Western division of the empire have been relieved from a portion of their burdens, those of the South still bear a greater weight of taxation than was ever yet imposed upon the North West;—that while more enlightened principles of taxation are applied in the former division, the latter still groans under the weight of a land assessment, inherited from

the most oppressive of native governments;—if this is fairly and fully shown, we have perfect confidence, that neither the amount of revenue at stake, nor the difficulties in which the subject is supposed to be involved, will long deprive the industrious cultivators of some of our most valuable districts, of that consideration which is due to those whose industry may be almost said, during our early struggles, to have fought the battles which gained us the Carnatic, and thus laid the foundation of our magnificent empire.

With a view to this result, we are desirous of placing, in *juxta-position*, the assessment as it now prevails, under the new settlement of the North Western Provinces, and in a Ryotwari district under the Madras Presidency, giving a slight sketch of the origin of the Ryotwari settlement, as prevailing at Madras, and of the revised settlement of the North Western Provinces, the principles laid down by the Government for the guidance of the settlement officers, and the manner in which those principles have been carried out. If we then take a single district under each system, and endeavour to approximate to a comparison of the amount of taxation borne by the land, we shall have a tolerably correct criterion, by which to ascertain, whether the just claims of the people, and the interests of Government, inseparable from those of the people, require that some such measures as have been adopted in the North West, should be applied to the heavily assessed lands of the Madras Presidency.

In following this course, we believe we shall show, that the measures, which have now given to the North West an improved system of revenue administration, differ but little from those which have been advocated, for a long series of years, by the ablest officers of the Madras Presidency, and urged upon the Government, with a force of truth and earnestness, which nothing but the pressure of financial difficulty could have resisted;—that if the same amount of relief should now be extended to Madras, as has been conferred upon the North Western Provinces, the system of Ryotwari settlement would then be fully carried out, and amply prove the wisdom and forethought of the able and excellent man, who may be considered to have been its author, and of the eminent statesman, who was its constant advocate and unwearied supporter.

Among the districts of Madras, we should naturally choose our illustration from that of Salem and Baramahl, as it was in this district the Ryotwari system was first established, and, perhaps, most fully carried out. But there are also certain peculiarities in the financial history of the province, as we shall have occasion to notice hereafter, which render it remarkably

suitable to the purpose we have in view, of illustrating the effects of the Ryotwari settlement, when aided by a light or impeded by a heavy assessment. We have also in this district, the experiment of Ryotwari and Zemindari settlement equally under trial, with their several results; and we have the interesting opportunity of comparing the speculations of men of remarkable philanthropy and talent, at a time when Indian revenue was comparatively little known, with the result of their labour, after the lapse of more than half a century.

Of the settlement of the North Western Provinces, we only propose to speak in very general terms, taking, as our guide, the printed papers whose titles we have placed at the head of the present article. We shall merely give an abstract of the principles laid down for the guidance of the settlement officers; and then, selecting one of the districts as an example, shall endeavor to show the amount of assessment, which was then deemed to be excessive and to require modification, the amount of remission which was conceded, and the amount of assessment which the land now bears. If we then place the result of our enquiries in these two districts in *juxta-position*, we shall have established the comparison we desire. A fuller detail of the settlement of the North Western Provinces, its progress and results, would be extremely interesting, but at present does not come within the scope of this article.

The Ryotwari system of land settlement, prevalent throughout the greater portion of the Madras Presidency, originated in the labours of Colonel Read and his assistants, in the district of Salem.

The district of Salem and Baramahl was ceded to the Company, by the Government of Mysore, in 1792, and with some small additions subsequently acquired, now forms the Collectorate of Salem. The admirable letters of Sir Thomas Munro will have made most of our readers familiar with the country, in which his administrative talents were first fully exercised, which, through his long and glorious career, held so large a place in his affections, and in which his name is still held in the deepest veneration. It is a mountainous country, situated partly in the Ghats, which form the boundary of the Mysore territory, and partly in the fertile plains, which stretch from the mountains to the river Cavary. Several chains of hills run southward, nearly to the river, and only the south-western portion of the district affords any continuous plain. The Sherwaroy hills, and those of Shendamungalum, reach to a height of about 5,000 feet, and are now found to afford a delicious retreat from the extreme heat of the plains, in the months of April and May.

The whole district, exclusive of the Balaghat, since added, was computed to contain 6,448 square miles, of which one-eighth was classed as hills, the rest as plains, being, properly speaking, cultivable table-land at various elevations, or fertile valleys situated more immediately among the mountain ranges, as well as the flat country bordering on the Cavary, in the talúks of Salem Proper. At the time of the conquest, it was bounded on the north by the kingdom of Mysore, from which it had just been wrested; on the west and south-west, by the Cavary river, separating it from the province of Coimbatore, which was, at that period, also a portion of Mysore; on the east and south-east, by the disorderd and ruined territories of the unfortunate Nabob of Arcot. The province itself had suffered its full share of the evils of protracted warfare and despotic misrule; but the state in which it was handed over to our care, will be best described in a later page, in the words of Munro. As we are not attempting a full description of the country, we shall only add, that a surface so varied, necessarily implies an equal variety of products and modes of culture. In the jungles of the hilly districts, amidst their abundant pasture, herds of cattle are reared for the supply of the enclosed talúks of the south, as well as for export to foreign markets; sheep are abundant throughout the district, and the system of penning them on the land, is universally practised; the fields produce almost every kind of tropical grain, as well as cotton, sugar, and indigo; the mountains and higher flats yield wheat; and the coffee of the Sherwaroy hills bears a high price in the English market. When to this we add, that the inhabitants belong to both the manufacturing and agricultural classes,—that the looms of the weavers give employment to the females of the ryots' families, on whose wheels their thread is prepared,—that iron and saltpetre are among the products of the soil,—that numerous weekly markets, and occasional fairs, give constant opportunities for the free interchange of commodities,—that many large towns and holy shrines attract the merchant and the devotee;—when it is remembered that its principal towns are situated on the high road from Bangalore to Trichinopoly, and from Madras to Coimbatore,—we think it would be almost impossible to select any country in which it would be more interesting to trace the effects of a new administration through half a century of peace subsequent to ages of war.

This portion of our conquests was intrusted to the management of Colonel Read, an officer of experience, with three younger officers, Munro, Macleod, and Graham, as his assistants. To appreciate the labours of these officers, it must be remembered that, up to this time, no accurate system of revenue

administration was known at Madras. The assessment levied upon the zemindar of the Northern Circars was merely a feudal tribute, paid or withheld, as feudal tributes generally are, in proportion to the influence of the zemindar, or the strength of his country. In the management of the Haveli lands, or those belonging directly to the Government, the native system of farming had been generally adopted; that is to say, the cultivators were handed over *en masse* to be pillaged by a Governor's dubash or other adventurer. Every attempt at reform had signally failed, because it was sought to ascertain the state of the country from the curmum's accounts, or the evidence of the heads of villages, instead of deducing it from the land. It was reserved for Colonel Read to lay the foundation of that system, which ensures, at the same time, the just dues of the Government, and the just rights, not of a new made zemindar, but of an industrious peasantry, and of such landlords as may be found to exist, and of those who must spring up by the necessary progress of events, in proportion to the amount of rent which the Government may see fit to renounce, in order to ensure the prosperity of the country.

Of Colonel Read, it would be injustice to speak in any other words than those of his illustrious pupil. In writing to his father of his new appointment, Munro says, "Read is no ordinary character: he might, in Mysore, have amassed as much money as he chose, and by fair means too; but he was so far from taking advantage of his situation for this purpose, that he even gave up his bazar, and many other perquisites of his military command, and received nothing but his prize money and commission, which, altogether, I believe, amounted to about six thousand pounds. Whatever I might have done, had I been left to myself, I could get no pickings under such a master, whose conduct is invariably regulated by private honor, and the public interest. These, and unwearied zeal in whatever he undertakes, constitute the great features of his character. The enthusiasm in the pursuit of national objects, which seizes others by fits and starts, is in him constant and uniform. These qualities, joined to an intimate knowledge of the language and manners of the people, and a happy talent for the investigation of every thing connected with revenue, eminently qualify him for the station which he now fills with so much credit to himself and benefit to the public." To this high character must be added the testimony of Colonel Wilkes, in whose work on Southern India, we find the following note:—

"It is known that the local institutions of Salem and Baramahl do not materially differ, and have been entirely

' assimilated by Colonel Read, who, in spite of a speculative tendency, which is too often the associate of genius, and the acknowledged error of over-assessing the lands, may be considered as the *founder* of all correct knowledge of the revenue of the South, and, perhaps, of a more correct and detailed knowledge than had previously existed in any part of India."

If any further testimony were necessary to the indefatigable zeal and pure unaffected philanthropy of this excellent man, the whole of the public records, and the traditions of the district, afford it in ample abundance; and there is something peculiarly interesting, in comparing, in these local records, the speculative views, the imperfect sentences, and even the imperfect spelling of this pioneer in Indian revenue, with the clear and decisive views, the transparent style, and the strong practical decision of the pupil then rising into fame, and who was destined for so many years to carry out and improve his master's views. If ever a *Biographia Indica* shall be compiled,—and a more interesting work could scarcely be proposed,—the name of Alexander Read will hold an honored place by the side of a De Haviland. We should then be able to trace the excellent man through the walks of private life, and into his well-earned, and, we feel sure, peaceful retirement. At present all we know is, that he lived to retire, and in his retreat had the satisfaction of looking back with pleasure on his valuable and valued service, and remembered to the last, even the native friends who had been associated with him in his labours. A codicil of his will directed that the sum of £100 should be laid out in the purchase of a gold snuff-box, to be presented to one of his tahsildars, to whose faithful services, the codicil stated that he owed much of any success he had obtained.

Under such a chief, the three officers to whom three several divisions of the district were entrusted, laboured with unwearied zeal, and conquered the greatest difficulties. A body of revenue servants had to be created, instructed and overlooked; and in the scarcity of persons acquainted with the English language, even the mechanical duties of a writer or copyist devolved upon the superintendents themselves. But, notwithstanding these disadvantages, within four years, the whole subject of landed tenures had been completely investigated; the rights of every party examined and registered; every cultivated field measured and assessed; the currency, the weights and measures, even the computation of time, explored; the customs and transit duties, to a certain degree, regulated; roads constructed; commerce facilitated; and a mass of statistical informa-

tion prepared and arranged, which rendered the final settlement of the land revenue a matter of pure reasoning, on premises more correct than had, perhaps, ever before been submitted to the decision of a Government.

These labours, however, were looked upon by Colonel Read as merely preparatory to a decision by higher authority than his own, of the important questions which then occupied the attention of Indian statesmen. The collections, in the meanwhile, were made in each division upon the assessment formed by the respective superintendents, and varied in a remarkable degree, according to the estimate formed by those officers of the produce of the land, as well as according to their views of the effects of assessment on agriculture. To this variation, we wish to call particular attention. We shall, however, first extract somewhat largely, from a letter of Captain Munro, descriptive of the state of the country when ceded to our Government, and of the labours of himself, his colleagues, and his chief. It is addressed to Captain Allen, and published in his life, vol. I, page 174.

*To CAPTAIN ALLEN, explanatory of the Revenue System pursued in Baramahl, 8th June, 1794.*

“ You seem to think that I have a great stock of hidden knowledge of revenue, and other matters, which I am unwilling to part with ; I have already given you the little I had, and your own experience of the ceded countries will supply the rest. I have more than once endeavoured to convince you, that we have no mysteries, that we have made no new discoveries, and that our only system is plain hard labour. Whatever success may have hitherto attended the management of these districts, is to be ascribed to this talent alone ; and it must be unremittingly exerted, not so much to make collections as to prevent them, by detecting and punishing the authors of private assessments, which are made in almost every village in India. We have only to guard the ryots from oppression, and they will create the revenue for us. Captain Read, in order to be enabled to turn his attention to general arrangements, has divided the ceded countries among his assistants into three divisions. These are again sub-divided into tahsildaries, few of which are under ten or above thirty thousand pagodas. The tahsildars, who have charge of them, are mere receivers of the revenue, for they cannot either raise or lower the rent of a single individual. They are not permitted to give any decision, unless on matters of the most trifling nature, — to refer all disputes respecting property to a Court of Arbitration, to order the members of such Courts to assemble, to

' receive the kists from the head farmers of the villages, and  
 ' the accounts from the village accountants, and to transmit  
 ' them to the collector of the division, is the whole of their  
 ' duty. Every tahsildari is farmed out in villages to the gours,  
 ' or head farmers, who, having the management of the details of  
 ' cultivation, may be considered as renters of the country,  
 ' though they are, in fact (unless in some particular cases), an-  
 ' swerable only for the amount of their own particular lands,  
 ' for the whole inhabitants are jointly answerable for the reve-  
 ' nue of the village, which is seldom less than ten pagodas or  
 ' more than one thousand. Every man, who pays a single  
 ' rupee to Government, has the rent of his land fixed by the  
 ' division collector, for which he has a roll, signed by him, speci-  
 ' fying the nature and quantity of it, and the periods of pay-  
 ' ment. As the gour can demand no more than the stipulated  
 ' rent, he can, of course, gain nothing by the ryots, and as every  
 ' man enjoys the profits of his own land, it is for these reasons,  
 ' that the whole are made jointly responsible for any deficiency.  
 ' The gour, in consideration of the troubles of his office, has a  
 ' small piece of ground rent free. By farming the country in  
 ' such detail, every division contains near twenty-one thousand  
 ' renters, the greatest part of whom, having been always accus-  
 ' tomed to be plundered by their gours, in league with an army  
 ' of revenue officers under the Mysore Government, still (not-  
 ' withstanding constant exhortations to pay no more than their  
 ' fixed rent, and to give no money without receipts,) submit to  
 ' private levies without complaining. It is the most difficult part  
 ' of the collector's business, to discover these impositions; but in  
 ' the present state of things, it is impossible wholly to prevent  
 ' them. If he is vigilant, he may reduce them, perhaps, to five  
 ' per cent.; if he is remiss, they will soon rise to fifty: nothing  
 ' will effectually put an end to them, but a long lease, which  
 ' for this, and many other reasons, ought to be hastened as much  
 ' as possible. From many circumstances which have come to  
 ' my knowledge, I am convinced, that the Brahmans of the  
 ' different katcherris in the ceded districts, collect privately  
 ' above fifty thousand rupees a year, for favoring certain indi-  
 ' viduals in the valuation of their lands at their annual settle-  
 ' ments; and this may be estimated as the cause of the loss  
 ' of more than a lakh to the public, because the sum of rents  
 ' excused, must be more than the sum paid, otherwise no ad-  
 ' vantage would arise to the payers from the transaction, and  
 ' because every ryot must keep a little money in hand to bribe  
 ' the Brahmans, which ought to have been laid out for the  
 ' purpose of cultivation."

\* \* \* \* \*

" The gross revenue of the present year, which ends in July, is five hundred and eleven thousand pagodas. The expenses of collection will, I imagine, be about seven and a half per cent., surveyors one and a half, and commissioners five per cent. The land rent is about four hundred and sixty thousand, the remaining fifty thousand are customs, which are composed of road duties, taxes on ploughs, houses, and particular castes. The last has been in part abolished, and ought to be wholly so, as well as the first, with the exception, perhaps, of one or two articles, which might affect our own manufactures; but all duties ought long ago to have been taken off cotton. Almost the whole of the land rent arises from grain, of which raggy, rice, and bajera are grown from the end of June to the end of August; if later, they will hardly cover the expense of cultivation. Reckoning back to the beginning of May, the earlier they are sown, the more abundant the produce; but sowing is uncommon in May, for rain is hardly in sufficient abundance till the end of June. Of these grains, the two first remain six months in the ground. Dall and the oil-nut are sown with raggy, and pulled a month later. There are several kinds of rice which remain only four months in the ground, and are grown at all seasons of the year when there is water; but two crops from them do not yield so much as one of other rice. The time of collection is from January to ~~July~~<sup>July</sup>, in order to give the ryots time to convert their grain into money. Cotton and sugar are grown in such small quantities that they cannot be called sources of revenue. The remainder of the land produce consists chiefly of different kinds of dall, and the nut and small grain from which oil is made. The ceded countries have very little trade—the jealousy of Tippú's government prevents much intercourse with Mysore—his possession of Coimbatore cuts them off from the Malabar coast, to which they used formerly to send great quantities of cloth, and the heavy duties check the communication with the Carnatic; there being no less than sixteen stages where customs are exacted between the Baramahl and Madras. The imports from above the Ghats are cotton from the Nizam's country, and beetle-nut and dyeing woods from Tippú's dominions. The exports to the westward are a small quantity of cloth and bajera. To the eastward, little cloth goes, but that of the Company's investment; dall and oil-nut are the principal articles sent there; they amounted, last year, to about a lakh and a half of pagodas, and the demand appears to be increasing. The imports from the Carnatic are only salt, and a few trifling European articles. The inhabitants of this country, from the long series of oppression they have undergone, are, in general, very poor;

few of the farmers are, I believe, worth a thousand pagodas, and scarcely one merchant worth a thousand pounds. The exertions of industry have always been restrained by the demands of Government keeping pace with their profits, and often outrunning them. The tanks are few, and having been neglected ever since Hyder made himself master of Mysore, are in so ruinous a condition, that it will require a considerable sum to save the present produce of the land beneath them from being lost altogether. The ceded countries have, however, many natural advantages, and are capable of great improvements. The first step for the attainment of this object, must be the settlement of the lease at a moderate rent, for all attempts to better their situation will be in vain, as long as the land tax is not only high but arbitrary ; let it be low and fixed, and it will be soon seen that the prosperity of the former will extend to every source of revenue. By the lease every man will become sole master of his own land ; when he pays his rent, there will be no farther claims against him, unless when it may be necessary, which will rarely be the case, to contribute, jointly with the other inhabitants, to make up the deficiency in the village. Every man will have as much ground as he can cultivate ; the waste will be reserved by Government, to be disposed of as population and cultivation increase. The gradual but certain progress of the country in wealth and industry will, in a few years, make ample amends for any little sacrifice of land rent ; we shall have no long arrears of balances, no calls for remission ; the collection of the revenue will become easy and regular, and the present shameful system, if such it may be called, of a continual struggle between the inhabitants to elude, and the collector to enforce, payment, will be done away. The former, when convinced by the experience of two or three years, that he has not been deceived, as formerly, by false promises, but is, in reality, the proprietor of his land, and that all its produce, beyond the rent, is his own, will begin to exert himself, and, where he now cultivates grain for a bare subsistence, will raise cotton and sugar-cane. The road duties must be abolished, to enable these articles to go to market to advantage, and it were to be wished, that the Nabob could be prevailed on to do the same in his country. The weavers should be left at liberty to work when they please—and not forced or inveigled into the Company's service, and when once engaged, never allowed to quit it. The fear of this treatment deters many from coming from Tippú's country, who wish to settle here ; no restraint of any kind should be used, if it is wished that manufactures should thrive. The

‘ abolishing of road duties, the giving liberty to weavers to work whenever they find it most for their advantage, and the fixing the land rent, would soon change the face of the country. The people, as they advanced in wealth, would become more expensive in their modes of life, and their luxuries becoming, in the course of time, articles of taxation, would amply compensate for the loss of road customs.

“ Hyder’s system of finance was much the same as under all other native governments ; he rented the country in large districts to amildars, who were pretty regular in their payments, because the terms were favorable ; but besides collecting the public revenue, they amassed large sums for themselves. Hyder having information of this from the numerous spies he employed, ordered them to the durbar, stripped them of their money, gave them a small present, and sent them to another district, to renew the same operations. Tippú began his reign with changing every civil and military arrangement of his father ; and he changed his almost every year, and always, on these occasions, framed new codes of regulations to send to different provinces ; his last was much the same as we have now in the ceded country ; only that he endeavoured to excite the warfare between the civil and military powers, after the manner in which it has been so long and so successfully carried on in the northern chiefships. The two lines were entirely distinct. The military was under an officer called the Suddúr, and the civil under another called the Assoph. One of each was stationed at Kistnagherry and Lukledrúg. The Baramahl formed one government, and Darampúr, Pinagre, and Tengercottah, with the country below Toppúr, another. Though all killadars were under the Suddúr, he could neither remove nor appoint without orders from Tippú, and in the same manner, though the Assoph had the superintendence of the revenue, his power over the tahsildars, who were at every district, as at present, was equally confined : he could not interfere in the detail of the revenue ; every tahsildar settled the amount of his own district, and rented the villages separately to the gours or head farmers. The tahsildar received a small monthly pay, and was supposed to derive no other advantage from his situation ; he remitted his collections to the Assoph, by whom they were forwarded to Seringapatam. The Suddúr and the Assoph were directed to hold their katcherries in the same hall, in order that all the transactions of the two departments might be public and known to both ; but all these checks served only to diminish the revenue ; all parties soon found that it was wiser to agree and divide the public money than to quarrel and send their complaints to the Sultan ; the

‘ Assoph and the Suddúr, with their katcherries, the tahsildars and their katcherries, and the land farmer and accountant of the village, all had their respective shares, which were as well ascertained as their pay. The whole amounted, on an average, throughout the extent of Tippú’s dominions, to above thirty per cent., being in some provinces more, and in some less, according to their distance from the seat of Government. Then, as well as now, the farmers were the only renters. The total collections were nearly the same, and the difference between the sums carried to account of the Company, and those which found their way to Tippú’s treasury, is to be entirely ascribed to the difference between the personal character of Captain Read and of Tippú’s Assophs.’

We have stated above, that at the end of four years, the statistics of the district had been completely examined; the result was submitted to the Board of Revenue, in 1796, in the form of a statistical table, accompanied by a paper of explanations, by Colonel Read, embodying the result of his investigations, and replete with curious facts and speculations. From this we shall have occasion to quote largely, when we speak of the actual assessment of the district. The future system of management, however, was still undecided, and the great question of the zemindari, ryotwari, or lease settlements, was still to be discussed, and we quote the following letter from Colonel Read to his assistants, as illustrative of the style and opinions of the writer, as well as of the perplexing questions which then occupied the care and forethought of those who first sought to reduce to order and system so confused and perplexing a mass.

“ To ASSISTANT COLLECTORS,

“ *Baramahl and Salem districts.*

“ GENTLEMEN.—1. You had reason, from my letter of the 8th July, to expect the whole detail of the mode of management, which I therein gave you only a sketch of; but revenue being so comprehensive, that the numerous items of it only occurring, as one brings another to recollection, the entering each in its place has occasioned so many revisals, as with other causes, to retard my progress much beyond what I expected; so that I am able to furnish you yet, with only a part of it, and being now obliged to turn entirely from it to the business of another line, it is very uncertain when I may be able to supply the rest.

“ 2. The desire to understand the business of my civil department, and the vast importance of devising something like a system in revenue, suggested, as soon as I became a collector, the idea of reducing it to definite and fixed principles, and had it been in my power to have devoted the whole, instead of a

‘ part of my time, to that pursuit, I doubt not, that ere this, I should have been able to effect it. I feel, however, such advantage from having directed all my enquiries, these five or six years past, to the same object, that I reject now hypotheses, the original of our present system, and am able to build upon facts; the source from which alone regulations can be formed to answer the various purposes of political economy which are comprised in the revenue management of this country. Nevertheless, the first draft of it must have many defects, which can be only remedied as they may be discovered in the carrying them into practice.

“ 3. Whether I, by a superintendence of the whole and daily enquiry, or you, as assistants occupied in carrying on the service, making settlements and afterwards realizing them, can be best judges of revenue regulations, may be made a question. It may be that we have each our advantages; you, from transactions with individuals; I, from enquiry into modes and effects; and that both have our disadvantages, proceeding from the means of information, which, whether from the mouths of the parties themselves, or of corrupt agents, often are perverted to deceive. Whatever is beyond the power of prevention, cannot, in respect to *self*, be a matter of solicitude with me.

“ 4. At all events different men in the same pursuit, and with the same opportunities, would acquire many points of information, and form ideas differing from those of their contemporaries, colleagues, or rivals. On that account, and no rivalry subsisting among us, I hope, (unless it be, that of who shall do most for the public good), I submit what I have done to your consideration, and request your sentiments upon every article, for the purpose of forming a code fitting in all respects for general adoption.

“ 5. This being a final attempt to bring forward a complete knowledge of revenue matters, from that obscurity in which it appears they have always been in these countries, the sense I have of every assistance I receive in so arduous an undertaking, demands in this place an acknowledgement to Mr. Munro, for his having favored me with his opinions in regard to the reform proposed, as requested in my letter of the 8th June.

“ 6. From what I now send, you may observe, that it is more calculated for the management of a zagr, than such an extensive country as the ceded districts, and that the carrying it into practice, with the desired particularity, requires that the ryots shall all be able to read, and the village curnums as expert writers and accountants as our own katcherri mūttasuadies. The same, however, may be said of the rules you have each

given out for the interior management of your respective divisions ; for as superintendent, I can inform you, how inadequately they have been followed up, and the more your observations will apply to these regulations, the better they are adapted to our purpose, which, as may be easily shown, is more properly the collection of what should be *private* than *public* revenue. While that is our object, it must be kept in view, and it is only to be attained by such a mode as that proposed, which I would therefore hold up as the standard of imitation in management. Pursuant of this design, I intend to circulate the cowlenamah, generally, over the districts in which the reform may be introduced, to furnish every curnum with a copy of it, and the directions to the *village servants*, every tahsildar with both, and directions now making out for *district servants* ; and every collector with copies of the whole, and directions for *division servants*. Thus the servants of every class will be furnished with whatever is necessary to themselves, and all below them, and the whole may, when improved by our several amendments and additions, form a code for *effective management*. While we endeavour to establish that, making our own katcherri do what the village servants cannot, till fully instructed, we may carry as much of it into practice, as the time on hand or other means may render convenient or practicable.

“ 7. Correspondent with my original design, you will find my grand objects are these, ‘ The securing the revenue its dues; to the industrious their fair advantages, and to all the inhabitants every accommodation consistent with good policy.’ If our present system were not defective, there would be no room for the reform I am desirous of introducing by the regulations.

“ 8. It was intended to add notes, showing the room for each; several of them, like those providing for joint security, being in my opinion oppressive, but justified by necessity, to obviate enquiry into the affairs of every defaulter (which is not in the power of collectors) and to secure the collections. All these regulations resulting from my experience, some are, of course, the same as already obtained in all your districts, others, though evidently proper, may require amendments, and you may think a few altogether objectionable. Whatever amendments, additions, or abrogations you recommend, I request your utmost endeavour at simplicity, for heretofore our communications have been too diffuse and abstracted, for others to understand and apply them.

“ 9. Many things in revenue, naturally branching out from affinity in such a manner, to make discrimination often difficult and induce digression, I have, you may observe, in my endea-

‘ yours at perspicuity, made every point I am anxious the ryots should comprehend, the distinct subject of a paragraph in my cowlenainah, and to ensure the keeping close to the subject in hand, I request you to observe the same rule, furnishing articles entire, whether amendments of those, or proposed additions, and if necessary, referring to forms; for our aim must be, to give every thing hitherto but vaguely and imperfectly conceived, such shape and subsistence, as to be evident to the senses, and, if possible, to minds the most uncultivated.

“ 10. If either of you have drawn up regulations, or will please to draw up such, as you think would answer better than these, all the purposes desired,—I shall be happy, if you will bring them forward, and cheerfully submit them to the Board’s consideration, that whatever may seem to it the most eligible, may be preferred.

“ 11. I shall hope, by thus collecting and digesting all our knowledge and experience into practical rules, we shall, very shortly, be able to form such a code as may be generally adopted. I see nothing proceeding from customs, prejudices, or localities, against the same rules obtaining in every district, and till then, it cannot be said that any system is established. You will find that I even propose to extend the same regulations to every village, in such manner, as that the affairs of each may be wholly conducted within itself, after the settlements are concluded, and all disputes about property, *public* or *private*, settled without reference to the collector or his katcherri; to render which practicable, separate and definite objections between the circar and the ryots, and the ryots with one another, appear all that is necessary. This is required to make it practicable for Courts of Judicature to exercise their functions, without interruption to the collections, and with benefit to the inhabitants; and the preparing the way for them, is my anxious endeavour.

“ 12. This intimation of the main objects proposed by these regulations, though general, being written in haste, will, I hope, enable you to follow me in the pursuit of them.

“ 13. Though I have thus invited you, severally, to contribute your stock of knowledge and experience in revenue, for the completion of our system, such is my dependence on the propriety of the regulations I have drawn up, and so firmly am I of opinion, that the lease settlements are not only ruinous to the inhabitants, and impracticable for any length of time, where so great a portion of the produce is required for Government, that I hesitate not as to the expediency of immediately adopting the reform, and desire that you follow my example,

‘ in one district, at least, of your respective divisions, the current  
 ‘ year. That no time may be lost in making so valuable an  
 ‘ experiment, and that I may have every opportunity, myself, of  
 ‘ ascertaining all its effects by personal investigations, I have al-  
 ‘ ready adopted it in the Salem district, and intend, if practicable  
 ‘ by my katcherri, within the period for concluding settlements,  
 ‘ to take two other districts, one in the centre, and one in the  
 ‘ northern division, under my own immediate management,  
 ‘ for the same purposes. As circumstances admit, I shall ad-  
 ‘ dress you, severally, on the subject of this district.

“ 14. As already mentioned, these regulations being calculat-  
 ‘ ed for what I have styled an *effective management*, they appear  
 ‘ to require abler assistants than we have in the village curnums,  
 ‘ and what is intended for the business of the whole year, must  
 ‘ be performed in the few months that remain, of those which  
 ‘ compose the period for settlement ;—but these objections are  
 ‘ already answered, the requisition made of you being, to carry  
 ‘ only as many of them into practice, and to such extent as the  
 ‘ time on hand, or other means, may render convenient and prac-  
 ‘ ticable. To facilitate the measure, these regulations are trans-  
 ‘ lating into Hindustani for circulation, and though the forms  
 ‘ will be delayed by reason of my present interruption, I hope  
 ‘ to furnish you with copies of the forms, both for the village de-  
 ‘ tail, and the district abstracts, in a few days, which last, of the  
 ‘ districts in which you may introduce the form, I shall expect  
 ‘ with your jummabundies for the current year.

“ I am, &c.”

This letter was accompanied by a húkamnamah and cowle-  
 namah, consisting of rules drawn up for the guidance of each  
 revenue officer in succession, from the head of a district, to the  
 head of a village, upon which the opinions of the several super-  
 intendants were invited. From Munro it elicited an admirable  
 reply. But Colonel Read, still anxious for further information,  
 still theorizing and speculating, submitted again, to his superin-  
 tendents, a series of propositions, regarding the state of the dis-  
 trict, dictated partly by the demand then so prevalent, for a  
 fixed unfluctuating revenue ; partly, evidently, by the specula-  
 tions of Arthur Young, whose writings were most attractive to  
 a man of Read’s turn of mind, on the relative merits of large and  
 small farms ; but chiefly by his own earnest desire to moderate  
 the demands of the Government, and to ensure the prosperity  
 of his district.

This second demand elicited, from Munro, a letter so full, so  
 able, so admirably descriptive of the state of the country, and  
 so just in the views, which at that early stage of political science,

he had either discovered or adopted, that nothing but its great length prevents our inserting it entire. We believe it has never yet been printed; it lies buried among the voluminous records of the district, in the hand-writing of its author, as much a monument of the clearness of his views, as of his indefatigable industry. In this letter, the principles of Ryotwari settlement are fully laid down and admirably illustrated, and, with a few concessions in favour of a lease settlement under certain modifications, that system is distinctly described, which, through the rest of his public service, Sir Thomas Munro invariably advocated.

The principles of the Ryotwari system, thus commenced by Read and Munro, we may say, are simply these, that the land assessment should be fixed on each plot of land, being deduced from a measurement of the land and an approximate estimate of its produce;—that it should be limited to something less than the rent of land, so as to leave a portion of the rent in the hands of the people;—that each holder of land, small or great, should be entitled to pay his rent direct to the Government, and should not be placed at the mercy of any intermediate party;—that in this way the Government should await the silent progress of improvement, to give a saleable value to the land, and to create a body of large landholders, who must, necessarily, spring up as population increases and cultivation extends to the poorer lands;—that no attempt should be made to create such a class, by assigning a portion of the existing revenue, or all its prospective increase, to a factitious aristocracy, or by attempting to interfere to regulate the size of farms;—but that where the means of Government admit of a sacrifice of revenue, the rise of a class of superior farmers should be hastened by the simple means of a reduction of the assessment.

This admirable letter ends with the following paragraph:—

“ I have now fully stated my sentiments on your different queries, and shall proceed, by combining the results of them with what I have said in my letter of the 18th of July last, to deliver my opinion, as to the best mode of forming a permanent settlement of the revenue of this country. The lease founded upon this survey, having been abandoned, cannot, possibly, for many reasons, (para. 10) be re-established. Its duration of only one year in most districts, and two in a few, was of too short a date to admit of any accurate estimate being formed of its probable consequences;—it appeared most likely, however, (para. 11) that though the settlements might always have been realized, yet the condition of the inhabitants would have been little bettered without a considerable reduction of them.

' The great point in making a settlement, is the rate of assessment; all other regulations connected with it, are of very inferior importance. It needs no argument to show that the lower it is, the better for the farmers. I have proposed such an abatement, as when the cheapness of cultivation and the great return from the seed are taken into consideration, will be found to leave them in possession of as great advantages as any race of husbandmen in the world. It must not, however, from this, be inferred, that land will become saleable on a sudden, for the frontier situation of these districts, and other reasons (para. 7) must long prevent it from generally attaining any value at all, and, perhaps, for ever from attaining that value which it bears in Europe. The plan which, it appears to me, would be best calculated to secure to the people the fruits of their industry, and to Government a permanent revenue, is comprised under the following heads, in which references are made to the paragraphs in which the particular reasons for each are given at length:—

" ' 1. A reduction of 15 per cent. to be made on the lease settlement. (para. 6).

" ' 2. The country to be rented immediately of Government by small farms as at present, every one receiving just as much land as he demands. (paras. 8, 15 and 17).

" ' 3. Settlements to be annual, that is to say, every man to be permitted to give up or take whatever land he pleases every year. (para. 10).

" ' 4. Every man to have a part, or the whole of his lands in lease, who wishes it; and in order to encourage the application for leases, all lands held under annual tenures, to be taken from the occupants and given to such other farmers as may demand them in lease, on their paying to Government, as purchase-money, one year's rent, for any particular field, or one-half year's, for the whole farm. (para. 10).

" ' 5. Villages and districts to be responsible for all individual failures. (para. 14).

" The following regulations are from my letter of the 18th July last:—

" ' 6. All lands included in the lease, should remain invariably at the rent then fixed after the proposed reduction of 15 per cent.

" ' 7. All lands not included in the lease, should be rented at the average of the village to which they belong.

" ' 8. Lands included in the lease, being given up and allowed to lie waste, for any number of years, should, when again occupied, pay the very first year the full rent as before.

“ 9. All castes, whether natives or aliens, to pay the same rent for the same land.

“ 10. No additional rent ever to be demanded for improvements—the farmer who, by digging a well or building a tank, converts dry land into garden or rice fields, to pay no more than the original rent of the ground.

“ 11. No reduction of the established rent ever to be allowed, except where the cochineal plant, mulberry, &c., are cultivated.”

Such was the rise of the Ryotwari system, and in thus alluding to its early history, we are aware that we may be thought by those who are familiar with the Madras records, to have unnecessarily entered upon a discussion, exhausted, and long ago set at rest; but we have so constantly heard the question, even now, misrepresented, that we have been most desirous to use our endeavours to free the principle of Ryotwari settlement from a load that sinks it; and we think that in stating the views of its authors, and thus tracing the early progress of the settlement, and showing its adaptation to the state of the country as they found it, we place it in the fairest light. But our chief object is, to show that the system, as proposed by its authors, contained within itself a principle of reform, and is free from many of the objections often urged against it. We have heard it attacked by some as discouraging improvement, because the assessment rises with the change of culture;—by others, because the Government, by taking the whole of the rent, constitutes itself an universal landlord, while it is utterly incompetent to discharge the duties of one;—by others as being subversive of all existing rights, and as reducing all parties to one low standard of mere competency. Now we assert that this is mixing up two distinct questions, that of Ryotwari settlement, and that of over-assessment. The over-assessment has arisen from the fact, that the necessities of the Government have never yet allowed of that alleviation of the burdens of the people, which has, from the first, been so strenuously advocated in Madras, and has now been granted to the North Western Provinces. It has nothing to do with the principles of collection. That Government never should be the landlord properly so called, that is, that Government should never take the whole of the rent, has been repeated from the time when the above admirable letter was written, in every form of remonstrance, up to the present day. The extreme sub-division of land does not arise from Ryotwari settlement, but from the Hindu law of inheritance, and from the fact that waste lands are still available to every person who can procure a plough and pair of bullocks, and prefers the

situation of a small proprietor to that of a hired labourer ; and so far from destroying proprietary rights, a Ryotwari settlement discovers, protects, records, and creates them.

That improvements are, in many instances, taxed, that Government frequently takes the whole landlord's share, that the remissions declared indispensable to the prosperity of the country have never, in the last half century, been granted, is most undoubted ; and this it is our wish most distinctly to show. But we wish also to show, that this is so far from being a part of the revenue system, that only let the remissions be conceded, and we have not even to seek the machinery for carrying them out. They are, as it were, a part of the original plan of the settlement.

To return from this digression, we proceed to sketch, as shortly as we can, the subsequent history of the revenue settlement of the district. We shall, perhaps, render this most clear, by going back a step to 1796, and stating at once that the amount of assessment fixed by the superintendents of the three divisions has, from that time to this, formed the demand upon the land. We have stated above, that while Read pursued his investigations, the collections were, in the mean time, made according to the assessments of the superintendents ; and when we find that Macleod and Munro differed so much in opinion, that while Munro was writing the above letter, Macleod was arguing that a high rental promoted cultivation and industry, we shall not be surprised to find how vastly their several assessments varied. But besides this, Munro's own assessment varied considerably ; and when, after settling the talúks of Trichengode and Senkerrydrúg below the Ghats, he proceeded to that of Darampúry, he satisfied himself that his first settlement was much higher in proportion than the relative produce of land would warrant. Graham's and Read's settlements were still more favorable than that of Munro's Balaghat talúks.

Thus when Read came to collect and compare the statistics of the three divisions, they presented the following enormous inequality.

The dry lands were estimated to yield in the southern, centre and northern divisions, in the proportion of seven, four, and three rupees per acre. The wet lands in the proportion of twenty-eight, eighteen and fourteen.

*Southn. Centre. Northn.*

The average assessment per acre was in the same

divisions on the dry land ... ... ... ... 2 1½ 1

On the wet land ... ... ... ... 11 6½ 5½

The individual contributions varied also in the following proportions :—

Contribution per head in rupees ... ... 4-15-9 3-5-2 2-9-6

That an assessment so obviously unequal, would, for half-a-century, be considered as a *settlement* of the land revenue, Colonel Read never could, for a moment, have anticipated. His report was sent in to Government, not as showing that he had settled the revenue, but to enable the Government to do so; and in the strong and earnest hope that a Government, which had thus the happiness and prosperity of a fertile province actually at its disposal, would take those measures, by which alone those blessings could be ensured.

This report of Colonel Read's is one of 'extreme interest. The result which he drew from the statistics which he had collected, and from the careful analysis which he instituted, was, that in the district upon which he was reporting, "the company 'was literally the farmer of the circar lands, or five-sixths of 'those actually in cultivation; and if the lands alienated in fee 'were included, it was the farmer of nineteen-twentieths, which 'is, probably, what no Government ever was before." By this Colonel Read distinctly meant that the Government was receiving the whole of the landlord's rent. He showed, that while in the rich plains of Bengal, the Government received forty-seven pagodas per square mile, in Salem they were collecting seventy.

"The difference between forty-seven and seventy," he observed, "may appear extraordinary, and the more so when it is considered, that a quarter of the district is barren mountains and jungles, 'that its only trade is with the Carnatic; and that Bengal is a 'level country, extremely fertile, and the greatest source of 'wealth and commerce in India. Here Government receives 'the rent of the land, and there only a tax or part of that 'rent."

Taking this fact then as established, viz., that throughout the whole of the district, the Government appeared to be taking the whole of the produce, beyond what was necessary for the mere subsistence of the actual cultivator, Colonel Read proceeded to discuss the question, which was then, in the early stages of political science, still an obscure one, whether high rents promoted or impeded agriculture. We need not follow him through this curious discussion. If he did not anticipate the discoveries of Malthus and Jones, as to the true theory of rent, still the result he arrived at was worthy of his talent and philanthropy. He described, in forcible language, the state to which a people must be reduced, if Government constituted itself the universal landlord. "It is easy," he said, "for the

‘ proprietor or renter of a village, or small district, to supply the wants of all his servants, and accommodate them in all respects; but it is impossible for a collector to hear all the representations, to inform himself of all the affairs, to guard against all the impositions, and to adjust every thing necessary, concerning 40,000 or 50,000 tenants. It cannot be doubted that, under the circumstances which occur in ordinary (years), many of them, and their progeny, perish for want of food, and the inference is but too plain, that the effects of such a high rental would be extreme poverty and desolation. Exclusive of the gradual decline of agriculture and revenue under this mode of arrangement, it seems probable that three-quarters of the rents of such a multitude of poor could not be collected without a contribution from those who might pay up their own, which is always extortion, and that the cruelties which the tahsildars, to gain credit with their principals, would exercise to collect the last instalments, would drive the inhabitants into other districts, while the collector, ignorant of their condition or insensible to their distress, might remain inexorable in his demands, or, overwhelmed with complaints from every quarter, and desirous of granting relief, he would find the task of informing himself as to individual capacity, totally impracticable, and a reduction of the ~~rental~~, or the abolition of such a parsimonious and ruinous system, the only remedy.”

“ It is hoped,” he emphatically adds in another passage, “ that these will not be thought fancy pictures; for they are drawn from example and experience, and to show the futility of any Government, or its officers, attempting to conduct the affairs of the common people, and the necessity of permitting that to be done by a middle rank of them, which is to be found in every country, unless among savage nations, *where, like ryots under such a management, all are equal, because equality is the offspring of poverty and wretchedness, inequality the effect of wealth and happiness.*”

This able reasoner then proceeds to draw a contrast to this picture, on the supposition of a liberal reduction of the Government demand. He pictures a class of small landlords gradually springing up between the Government and the people, a saleable value imparted to the land, and capital applied to its purchase and improvement;—the labourer, with a friend at hand, whose interest it is to assist him in his difficulties;—the revenue easily collected, and the time of the collector left free for the duties of administering justice;—cultivation extending to the poorer lands, and manufactures encouraged by the enhanced comforts of the agricultural classes.

The prevailing opinion, "that an high rental promotes agriculture and, of consequence, national wealth," he next more directly discusses; and his object is to show that a high rental in the hands of local landlords, and a high rental appropriated by the Government, are two very different things. The abandonment of rent might, he observed, render the cultivation of less land necessary; "but as already shown, it is the part of the farmer, not of Government or its officers, to assess the cultivators. If the farmer do it, he may leave them just sufficient to supply their wants, and, without loss, by making them pay their debts when they have the means; but if the Government do it, it must be satisfied with less, and, however moderate it may be, it never can depend upon their industry and prudence, nor can it expect to receive all their rent, but by an act of oppression and injustice, that of making others pay the balances of the defaulters by an extra assessment. *The disposition of all descriptions of men, to get as much as possible for themselves, is sufficiently prevalent to ensure the farmers taxing their tenants as highly as circumstances will admit. In other words, by supplanting the farmers, they involve the necessity of attending to the duties and functions of private persons, which are equally below their dignity, and beyond their ability, to perform.*

"It is owing to this system, that the Government in this country are not only under the necessity of constructing tanks and other buildings, and of keeping them in repair, but of supplying the wretched cultivators with the means of purchasing the implements of labour, and even of subsistence."\*

After stating that, even under the native government, a remission of rent was made in favour of Brahmins and Mussulmans, in order to induce those to become farmers, who could not or would not be cultivators, Colonel Read adds, "this is a parsimony disgraceful to Government. *The indulgence should be extended to all descriptions, by such a general remission as would make the lands saleable for at least two or three years' purchase.*"

The writer then proceeds to compare the distribution of the produce of land between the landlord, the farmer and the labourer, as prevailing in England, with the state of things he has described above, and after quoting the authority of writers on political economy in proof, that the profit left to the farmer,

\* The system of making advances to the ryots, under the name of Tuckary, was continued till within a few years, but was then abandoned, as it was found, that it became, as may readily be supposed, a mere means in the hands of the tahsildars of postponing a certain amount of collection, which they found it difficult to realize. It is said that the palliative should have been discontinued, before the over-assessment in which it took its rise was corrected.

is the principal source of agricultural improvement, he continues:—" Many quotations might be made from Stewart, Smith, Anderson and others, who have written on the subject, to the very same effect. If the opinion of such eminent men be so decidedly for allowing the farmers a liberal share of the produce, because they make so much better use of it than the landlords, though the greatest part of their income certainly contributes to the increase of productive labour, who can doubt what it would be, on a motion for absorbing both in the share of the sovereign ? And if 800,000 landlords, the estimated number in England and Wales, do so little good compared with the farmers in promoting agriculture, what would they expect from one ? The difference is not so great between the people, soil, or the climate in Europe and India, to suppose that the same causes would not, in the course of time, produce the same effects in one country as the other. The supineness that is said to prevail among the natives of India, is wholly ascribed to the climate ; but whoever has lived among them, and reflects on the examples he may have seen of their activity and courage in the field, and of the spirit of industry he may have observed, where manufactures and trade are encouraged, will more easily suppose it the effect of our system of Government and finance, so different in every respect to that of countries so much more prosperous and happy."

This valuable and interesting record is concluded in the following remarkable words:—" In the foregoing report, the errors and consequent evils of a parsimonious management have been exposed, and the contrasts of one more liberal exemplified. The object is to hold up both systems as in a mirror, demonstrating that what brings most immediate advantage to Government, gradually produces poverty and desolation : and that what brings the least present advantage to it, is productive of plenty and happiness to the community, and proportionate increase of the public revenue."

The peculiar aptness of a passage in the *Esprit Des Lois*, to the present subject, will excuse, it is hoped, another quotation. " If the Government," (says Montesquieu,) " proportions its fortune to that of individuals, the use or convenience of the latter will soon make its fortune rise." The whole depends upon a critical moment. Shall the State begin with impoverishing the subject to enrich itself ? Or had it better wait to be enriched by its subjects ? Is it more advisable for it to have the former or the latter advantage ? Which shall it choose, to begin or to end with opulence ? No sovereign, unless one that may have had the same knowledge of the resources of the country and the same

power to command them, ever had the same option. The worst and best policy being understood, it will be easy to judge of what has been done, and the whole detail of revenue being laid down, there will be no difficulty found in devising any system that may be deemed the most eligible, either with regard to particular interests, or the facility with which it may be carried on, under every change of administration.

Such were the views which Colonel Read submitted to the Government. The report from which we quote, is of a date prior to that of Munro, and in some of their views, Read and Munro will be found to differ. They did so, as will be seen, by comparing their letters, as to the proportion of rent demanded by the Government; but only in so much that Munro thought that the Government took too much—Read, that it took all. Both agreed that the Government demand was too high. Munro admitted this even in the Baramahl, and Read had before him, not Munro's division only, but Macleod's. Graham coincided fully with Read. One of the propositions, which Read submitted to his superintendents, was as follows:—

“ Increase of the public revenue, which is a lakh (of pagodas) more than Tippú's village rental of 1788-89, when it was higher than it ever was before, and, probably, is double of what was ever brought into the public treasury, an increase which must be a proportionate reduction of private income, and not only a consequent diminution of the capital formerly employed in agriculture, but equally a loss to trade and manufactures.”

Upon this proposition, Graham recorded the following comments:—

“ The increase to the public revenue of these districts, has been obtained, in consequence of Government having added thereto, that portion of the produce which is the life of future exertions in husbandry, and as a compensation for a variety of disasters, peculiar to the country, ought, undoubtedly, to go to the farmer. Upon this view of the subject, although it may be deemed unusual official language, yet I hesitate not to regret every pagoda which has been thus added to the jumma, because I am sensible of its evil tendency, and because I have ever been taught to believe, that the affairs of Government flourish in proportion to the prosperity of its subjects.”

But, unfortunately, the subject then so warmly discussed, was not a high or low assessment, so much as Ryotwari or Zemindari tenures, and in the latter question, the former was almost completely lost. The fatal resolve was at last taken, that the Zemindari system should be extended to Madras, and pe-

remptory orders were received from Bengal, that this measure should be immediately carried out. The remonstrances of local experience, the difficulties of local circumstances, were overborne by the sweeping order, that those who were unwilling or unable to introduce the new system, should make way for those who could and would.

The district was accordingly parcelled out into zemindaries of varying size ; and schedules were prepared, showing the present and prospective resources of each. Some remission of revenue was provided for ; but, unfortunately, exactly in the way which, Colonel Read had shown, was least likely to be advantageous. The permanent assessment was fixed at something below the collections of the year Dúrmúty (1807), but that remission was conceded, not to the farmers, but to the new-made landlord. The original settlement formed the limit of the demand upon each field, and the extent of the available resources of each zemindari was shown from the original survey, under the heads of cultivated, fallow, and cultivable lands. The permanent assessment was fixed, with reference to the previous Government collections and those capabilities, and with this liability, the zemindari or múttah (as it is there called) was offered for sale. It will be easily imagined, that a measure so commanded and so carried out, has left a legacy of confusion and difficulty, which half a century of litigation has not sufficed to adjust.

From what has been above stated, it will be seen, that the marked difference in the relative estimate of the produce of land and of the Government rights, according to the varying views of the respective superintendents, continue up to the present time to affect their several divisions, and as far as financial arrangements affect the prosperity of a people, should be perceptible in the present state of those divisions. And it is a curious fact, that a heavy assessment may yet prove a blessing to the people, in a way little foreseen. In the most heavily assessed portion, the múttadars soon broke down, and the happiness and prosperity of the people, is again, for good or for ill, in the hands of the Government.

First, in large numbers, and, subsequently, one by one, the múttadars failed, and the district is now divided into Ryotwari and Zemindari estates, the lapsed múttahs being managed by the collector, under the orders of the Board of Revenue, on the original Ryotwari principles ; that is to say, the holder of the land pays the assessment upon the land he holds, whatever may be its extent, directly to the Government. Whether under the zemindar or under the Government, the original survey

assessment forms the limit of the demand against the ryot; but there is this difference, that the zemindar is enabled to modify the demand as his supposed interest may require, whereas, under the collector, the assessment is rigidly adhered to.\*

The lapse of the mūttahs, has, in many instances, been due to other causes than to over-assessment, but generally the most highly assessed were the first to fail, and thus the worst estates have come under Ryotwari settlement, while such mūttahs as remain, comprise some of the finest portions of the district. It will thus be seen, that the two systems of Ryotwari and Zemindari settlement are now on trial, side by side, but under circumstances the most favorable to zemindari. Many lands, which have lapsed to the Government, bear an assessment, which the zemindar found to be ruinous; on the other hand, the zemindars hold the more favorably assessed lands; and what is particularly valuable, they are compelled to adopt a degree of liberality, not natural to their characters, by the fear of their tenants emigrating to the Ryotwari lands.

Under the circumstances above described, it would naturally be supposed, that the first measure of Government, on the failure of the zemindari system, would be, to order an enquiry into the condition of the mūttahs, which lapsed into their hands in a ruined and exhausted condition, with the view of ascertaining how far the failure of the system, and the defalcation in their revenue, were due to the amount of assessment originally imposed, and how far to the introduction of a system repugnant to the habits and feelings of the people. That many of the lapses were due to over-assessment, and that the assessment required to be modified, was proved by the fact, that a very considerable portion of the lands found to be under cultivation, when the mūttahs lapsed, were held by the ryots on lease from the mūttahdar, at a rent below the survey assessment. Some of the proprietors only held out as long as they did, by the wise and judicious plan of cultivating more land at a lower rent. That this was not done unnecessarily, was clearly shown by the fact, that on the collector being forbidden to allow these leases to run for more than a year, and being directed to revert to the survey assessment, the cultivation was immediately and greatly contracted, and, in some instances, the rental, even now, after a long series of years, stands below what it was under the zemindars' leases.

So obvious a measure, as that above supposed, was not neg-

\* It is true that a system of leases (or cowles) has been established, but these are only instalments of the *full assessment*, to which the rent rises in seven years at the outside.

lected, and in 1818, such an enquiry was actually instituted. But it will scarcely be credited that, from that time to the present day, the assessment, unrevised except in one small instance, remains as it was originally fixed by the three superintendents ; and this, notwithstanding the clearest and most convincing proof of so vast a difference in the Government demand in the different portions of the district, as rendered it impossible that it should be founded on any proportionate variation in the fertility of the soil. The subject was forcibly brought to the notice of the Board of Revenue, by Mr. Hargrave, the collector, from whose reports we extract the following passages :—

“ 7. Accompanying my report to your Board, under date the 14th December, 1813, I had the honor to transmit the different sorts of assessment in Salem and Baramahl, and your Board cannot fail to have observed the difference in favor of the latter ; and I have now the pleasure to forward the scale of assessment in Balaghat,\* which in Nunjah is lower and in Púnjah higher than the Baramahl.

“ 8. I had a calculation made in my katcherri, of the estimated value of an acre of land, both Nunjah and Púnjah, in the Salem division, and also in the Baramahl and Balaghat, which I deem it right to forward for your Board's inspection, and if this calculation be near correct, I can see no reason why the tírvah should be so much higher in the Salem division than in the two others. I had it therefore in contemplation, to average each of the talúks in Salem with the Baramahl, and fix the tírvah accordingly ; but as this arrangement would cause so large an immediate reduction of revenue, it has occurred to me that it would be better to let the reduction be more gradual.

“ 9. In order to enable your Board to form a more accurate judgment of what is mentioned in the preceding para., statement No. 3, accompanying this letter, will exhibit to your Board what would be the actual reduction on the settlement of Fusly, 1223, if the tírvah was to be fixed upon an average of the Baramahl and Balaghat, and the respective talúks in the Salem division. If the amount of reduction in the several talúks were added together, it would show a total net reduction of no less than Star Pagodas 11,131-22-63 on Star Pagodas 49,155-17-5, the settlement of 1223, or Star Pagodas per cent. 22-29-4.

“ 10. Presuming, therefore, that your Board will not be disposed to make so large an immediate sacrifice, I considered,

\* The Balaghat talúks were added in 1799 to the Salem district.

' that if a reduction in the *tírvah*, to the extent of one-half of the above sum, Star Pagodas 11,131-22-63, was conceded, it would greatly encourage the inhabitants; but as the reduction or otherwise is different in every *taluk*,—in statement number (3) before referred to, I have shown what, I propose, shall be the average *tírvah* in the *Amaní* estates in the Salem division, and if your Board approve of the same and confirm it by your authority, I shall introduce the new rates in the approaching season for cultivation, for *Fusly* 1225, when of course some notion can be formed of the effect of the concession. I therefore take the liberty to express a hope, that your Board's answer to this letter may reach me by the 20th of next month."

In answer to this, the Board called for a more minute investigation and a more detailed report, which led to the enquiry we have just alluded to; and a remission of assessment, to the extent of Rupees 1,09,434, was actually made by Mr. Hargrave.

Unhappily, however, this measure was marred by the usual impediment to all improvements in India,—the villainy and rascality of the native servants of Government. Suspicions of fraud arose, and enquiry showed that they were well-founded; and, unfortunately, the collector who succeeded Mr. Hargrave commenced with the impression that any reductions were unnecessary; and *all* that had been done was cancelled, with one trifling exception, in which Mr. Hargrave's remissions held good. This unfortunate step has never been retrieved. In the very next year, Mr. Cockburn begged to retract his opinion, and to recommend a general reduction of 18 per cent. Adopting the views of Munro, he observed, that "the stability of a *Ryotwari* settlement arises from the lands being so easily assessed as to render them saleable; and until they shall be saleable, cultivation will never be carried to any high point of perfection, nor will revenue be permanent, unless with more good care than can generally be expected from collectors." This general reduction was never conceded, but Mr. Cockburn made partial and local reductions, by giving the highly assessed lands on *monasib cowle*, (discretionary leases): but even this has been disapproved of, as too lax a system, and it has been ordered that these concessions shall cease with the life of the holder. The result is, that the abandonment of two-thirds of the land has been added to the overwhelming proofs of over-assessment.

Mr. Orr succeeded; and a long residence in the district, and a perfect acquaintance with its condition, enabled him to appeal emphatically to the Government for an alleviation of its burdens.

"The fact is, however, unquestionable," Mr. Orr observes, "that the portion of the district assessed by Captain Macleod, is made higher than it ought to be, and at least 30 per cent. higher than the rest of the district. This over-assessment, I think, is sufficiently proved, by the circumstance of its being in Macleod's division, that the mūttahs first reverted to Government, and from its being in his division only that lands of the first quality, and bearing the highest rate of assessment, frequently immediately under the tanks, and, consequently, always sure of a supply of water, are left uncultivated on account of their extravagant assessment, and lands of an inferior description, but having a less assessment, cultivated in preference. That Captain Macleod's assessment was much too high, was also the opinion of Colonel Read himself, as I learn from a letter of his to Captain Macleod, in which he mentions, that he considered his assessment much too high, and that it was upwards of 30 per cent. above what he (Colonel Read) would have made it from the same data. I regret I have not the letter by me, to extract the passage, but will revert to it when I resume this subject."

Nor was the Government deaf to the appeal. The following passage was recorded in the minutes of consultation, by Lord Elphinstone, who then presided in the Councils of Madras.—

"The Board of Revenue do not appear to have noticed that part of para. 37, of the principal collector's report, in which he adverts to the over-assessment of the lands in part of his district. Although in the minutes of consultation, under date the 29th of June, 1836, the Government were disposed to concur with the Board of Revenue, in considering the over-assessment here alluded to, as rather apparent than real, yet the tone of confidence in which the collector, whose long experience in the district must have furnished him with ample materials for forming an accurate judgment on these points, speaks of it as a fact, and his allusion to Colonel Read's letter to Captain Macleod, by whom the assessment was made, in corroboration of it, require that the subject should be further and fully investigated, and a revision of the assessment, if found necessary, effected without delay. It is unnecessary to enlarge upon the evil and impolicy of over-assessment. These have often been pointed out, and are, indeed, almost self-evident. It is sufficient here to observe, that this appears to be the main circumstance, which has given rise to the various restrictions on, and interference with, cultivation, so coercive of the freedom of the ryot; and that where it is removed, therefore, all ground or occasion for

‘ those restrictions, and that interference will be removed with it.’

Still the revenue remains unaltered, and we are yearly collecting the revenue inherited, as we have said above, from the most oppressive of native governments. And more than this, for there is distinct and conclusive proof, that there has been a gradual decline of prices since we first took the country, that is, that the assessment in money has been virtually raised.

Such of our readers as have followed us through this sketch, will be prepared, we think, to enter with interest into the enquiry, as to what effect of circumstances so remarkable can be discovered in the present aspect of the district. But our limits warn us not to enter into detail. The zemindari system has so completely deranged the accounts, (for of the cultivation of the existing zemindars, we can learn but little,) that we could not enter minutely into the subject without trespassing on the patience of our readers. A general view of the lapsed mūttahs is all we can give; but this is sufficient for our purpose.

Let it be borne in mind, that the southern division is considered to contain the most fertile lands of the district, that it possesses great advantages of irrigation, excellent roads, and populous towns;—that it came into our hands in a comparatively prosperous state, while the Baramahl was comparatively waste; let it be remembered, that a permanent assessment was fixed at a standard below the collections made in the year Dúrmúty, (1801), and that as the field assessment has not varied, the amount of collection represents the state of cultivation. Bearing these points in mind, let it be asked, what is the present state of those mūttahs, the assessment of which is under the control of the Government; and the answer is, that the amount of cultivation was, at the end of fifty-five years’ peace, in some instances twenty, thirty, forty and even fifty per cent. below the permanent assessment, which was below the cultivation which the country could support when just emerging from ages of war, and of what we call oppression!

The effect of the system has been exactly to reverse the ordinary course of things. Salem, with its fertile soil and heavy assessment, has declined; the Baramahl, with its poorer soil and lighter assessment, has advanced.

This result is recorded in the proceedings of the Board of Revenue, in 1847, on a review of the lapsed mūttahs, when, after showing that in the southern talúks, the collections fall short of the permanent assessment by as much as 23 per cent.

on an average of a whole taluk, they thus describe the more favorable state of those of the Baramahl:—

“ The four Baramahl taluks are lightly assessed, possess a ready market for their product, and a saleable property has been imparted to the land. The revenue from these taluks is accordingly proportionately favorable. The average of the last nine years exceeds the permanent assessment in three taluks, and in the remaining taluk (Tengercottah) the decrease is only Rs. 1,978 or  $2\frac{5}{6}$  per cent., partly ascribable to the remissions which it was found necessary to give to meet the unfavorable character of the seasons.”

The table of the taluks we give below, for the year 1255:—

*Comparative statement of the permanent and present Beriz of Amany mūttahs, in the district of Salem, for Fusly, 1255.*

Names of taluks.	No. of mūttahs now under cir- car manage- ment.	Total of per- manent beriz of mūttahs Land revenue of Fusly, 1255.	COMPARISON BETWEEN COLUMNS 4 & 5.				
			Increase.	Decrease.	Per Centage.		
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1. Ahtir .....	17	1,15,509 5 2	95,039 8 3	..... .. ..	20,469 12 11	17 11 5	
2. Namacul .....	18	82,234 7 0	75,587 7 4	..... .. ..	6,647 .. 2	8 1 3	
3. Paramutty .....	18	90,735 5 9	71,441 1 2	..... .. ..	19,294 4 7	21 12 2	
4. Salem .....	17	1,05,237 8 2	1,08,886 5 ..	3,648 11 10	..... .. ..	3 7 6	
5. Senkerrydirug .....	16	1,36,740 5 4	1,04,206 5 0	..... .. ..	32,539 15 10	23 12 0	
6. Raizepur .....	29	1,22,421 6 4	1,12,551 4 ..	..... .. ..	9,870 2 4	8 1 ..	
7. Womulore .....	31	1,35,280 4 ..	1,10,031 15 3	..... .. ..	18,948 4 9	13 9 ..	
8. Trichengode .....	19	81,614 9 2	71,982 2 1	..... .. ..	9,682 7 1	11 13 10	
9. Darumpury .....	18	87,492 4 10	89,661 15 2	2,169 10 4	..... .. ..	2 7 8	
10. Tengracottah .....	19	80,515 8 1	71,104 14 1	..... .. ..	9,410 10 ..	11 11 ..	
11. Kistnagherry .....	8	58,512 3 5	61,742 12 5	3,230 9 ..	..... .. ..	5 8 4	
12. Tripatür .....	9	65,547 15 7	58,753 .. ..	..... .. ..	6,794 15 7	10 5 10	
Total .....	208	11,61,841 4 4	10,37,898 10 3	9,048 15 2	1,33,051 9 3		

Net decrease.....1,24,002 10 1

It will not surprise those who are used to such enquiries, nor will it really invalidate our argument, that an invariable proportion does not appear between the assessment of the several taluks and the cultivation and consequent collections. In many instances, even the pressure of Macleod's assessment has not been able to keep down the force of improvement which peace generates ; in others, the light assessment of Read or Munro has been counteracted by the unusual severity of cholera and the zemindars, and years will still be required to elapse, before the country recovers. The general result is, however, sufficiently clear. But the fact is, that these averages are of very little value. Centralization and averages are two of the greatest afflictions of India ; and underneath these averages, what a mass of misery and suffering lies concealed. A Govern-

ment which has usurped the place of a landlord, has no business with averages. Minute investigation and local control are then its most sacred duties. When the Government demand is equal, or nearly equal, to the rent of the land, a very trifling cause may affect the subsistence of thousands, and yet be represented, in a statistical table, by a minute fraction of the lowest coin of the country. It is only when the rent is so low, as to leave room for a farmer, that a Government has any right to contemplate the average of its collection, or judge of the state of the people *en masse*. It is the local officer who sees the gradual and painful decline of a village, which a small assistance might save, or who watches the tardy progress of improvement, to the promotion of which a liberal system of reduction would be equivalent to the lapse of half a century of labour. And again the question is, not only what the state of the country is, but what it might and should have been?

But let us consider the result of our administration in another point of view. The following table exhibits the revenue as collected in the year prior to the zemindari experiment, 1800, and in the Fusly year, 1257—(1847):—

The total revenue of the district, the year preceding the permanent assessment, was as follows :—

Land Revenue .....	19,00,635	13	8
Hills .....	39,830	10	8
Abkarry, &c. ....	42,110	10	4
Moturpha .....	62,007	12	5
Customs.....	1,61,865	3	8

The revenue of Fusly, 1257, was as follows :—

Land Revenue.....	17,74,664	2	2
Abkarry .....	78,305	0	0
Moturpha.....	69,615	5	1
Sundry small farms..	11,829	4	5
Stamps.....	9,660	0	3
	1,69,409,	9	6
Grand total.....	19,44,073	11	8

This table appears to us eminently instructive. It shows that while the taxes generally have increased, the land revenue has fallen off from 19,40,466-8-4 to 17,74,664-2-2; or an off-falling of Rs. 1,65,802-6-2.

Of this sum, Rs. 65,000 may be considered as the sacrifice made on the estates still held by zemindars, the permanent assessment of which was rated at about 10 per cent. below the previous Ryotwari collections, and a lakh of rupees is left, as the loss which has resulted from our management of the lapsed estates. This has not been the result of a voluntary sacrifice by which the country generally has benefited; it is the representative of diminished cultivation, resulting from the combined effects of an over-demand, and the zemindari experiment.

We have thus endeavoured to prove, by internal evidence, the necessity which exists for that review of the land assessment which we most strongly advocate, and which we claim as due to an industrious and well-disposed people. We think we have shown, that the common principles of economy, as well as the opinions of all the officers of experience, speak with one voice.

We shall next endeavour to establish the comparison we propose between this district and one of the North Western Provinces, and we think, if we first quote the following words of Munro, written in 1821, we shall show that the measures there carried out correspond with those which, twenty-eight years ago, the veteran and revered statesman advocated, as due to the Presidency of Madras:—

“ The task of improving our resources is one of much greater difficulty than that of maintaining the peace of the country; and this difficulty arises, principally, from the assessment being, in general, too high with respect to the condition of the people; so that, in many districts, in order to have a further increase, we must begin by making a present reduction of our revenue, because the extension of cultivation, from which the increase of revenue must result, cannot possibly be expected under the present assessment. The Presidencies of Bengal and Madras were acquired under circumstances which have ever since continued to influence their revenue system. Bengal acquired at once the dominion of rich and fertile provinces, yielding a revenue much beyond its wants; it had, therefore, no occasion to enter into any minute examination of the assessment; it was satisfied with what it got from the zemindars, and left them in possession of the lands on very easy terms. Madras, on the contrary, rose amidst poverty, and many struggles for existence. It never was able to pay its establishments: it acquired its territories by slow degrees, partly from the Nizam, but chiefly from Mysore; and though the assessment had already been raised too high by those Governments, its own pressing necessities did not permit it to lower the demand, but forced it to enter into the most rigid scrutiny of the sources of the revenue, in order to keep it up; and there has, in consequence, always been a pressure upon the ryots, which nothing but necessity could justify.\*

“ *The present secure state of India will, I hope, enable us to lower*

\* To show the financial difficulties under which the Madras provinces were acquired and the settlement formed, it may be mentioned, that the fact of Tippú's seizing the revenues of the Baramah, was one of the arguments used by Mr. Josiah Webb, to dissuade the Marquis of Wellesley from a declaration of war against Tippú in 1799.—See despatches of the Marquis of Wellesley.

*' the assessment gradually in all those districts in which it is too high. This may be done, without materially affecting the general amount of the revenues, by taking the districts in succession, two or three at a time, and letting them make up, by additional cultivation, the reductions of their assessment, before it is extended to others. We shall, by this means, ultimately increase the land-rent, and in a much greater degree, the customs and every other source of revenue ; and we shall render the payment of them much lighter to the inhabitants, because they will be enabled to augment the stock from which they are paid. I expect from a reduction in the assessment, that land will, in time, be everywhere regarded as hereditary private property by the ryots ; that their circumstances will be so much improved, as to enable them to pay the revenue in all seasons, good or bad ; and that, the country will be able, when war happens, to bear a temporary additional assessment, as a war tax, and save us from a great part of the heavy expense which we have already been obliged to incur on account of loans.'*

Turning then to the settlement of the North Western Provinces, we find that the following principles were the foundation upon which the Government desired that it should rest :—

*' Practically, in Indian Governments, there is no other limit to the demand upon the land, than the power of the Government to enforce payment, and the ability of the people to pay. Thus the Government is, in fact, the landlord of the whole country. It is the true interest of the Government, in this capacity, to limit the demand to what is just, so as to create a valuable property in the land, and encourage its improvement. In order further to encourage this improvement, it is necessary to determine the persons, to whom all the benefits belong, which arise out of the limitation of the demand on the land. To perform these operations, is to make a settlement ; and under ordinary circumstances, the prosperity of the country depends on this being justly and perfectly done. The object of the present rules is to point out how it should be done.'*

The objects aimed at in the settlement are stated to be :—

*1st.—The adjustment of boundaries.*

*2nd.—The survey.*

*3rd.—The assessment.*

*4th.—The record of rights.*

It is the third head in which we are at present interested ; the rest were sufficiently comprehended in the survey of the Salem district, but with the disadvantage, that in those early days scientific maps were not attempted.

The principles upon which the assessment is to be fixed, are contained principally in paras. 47—52:—

“ 47. The object of the fiscal part of the settlement is to fix the demand upon the land, for a certain period of years prospectively, within such limits as may leave a fair profit to the proprietors, and create a valuable and marketable property in the land.

“ 48. This end cannot be attained with certainty, by any fixed arithmetical process, or by prescription of any rule, that a certain portion of the gross, or net produce of the land, shall be assigned to the Government and the proprietors.

“ 49. If the net produce of any one year, or any given number of past years, could be determined, it would afford no certain guide to the produce of years to come. The future produce may be more, if there is waste land to come into cultivation; if the former system of cultivation were faulty and expensive; if the products of the land are likely to come into demand in the market; or if the opening out of new channels of commercial intercourse is likely to improve the local market. The future produce may be less, if the reverse of all this be the case.

“ 50. Not only would the actual ascertainment of the net produce of an estate be a fallacious basis, on which alone to found any certain determination of the demand, but it is in itself often most difficult to accomplish, and the attempt to effect it is likely to produce many serious evils. In villages where the collections are in kind, or where the proprietors cultivate themselves, and pay the jumma by a backh, or rate, upon their seer land, it is almost impossible to ascertain either the net or gross produce with any certainty. When once it is known, that the Government demand is to be limited to a fixed portion of the proved produce, there is a general combination to deceive and mislead the settlement officer. Village accounts are forged, or the true one suppressed, falsehood and perjury are unhesitatingly resorted to. A struggle commences between the proprietors and the settlement officer, in which it is most difficult for the latter to maintain that impartial equanimity which is essential to the proper performance of this duty.

“ 51. Still the settlement officer should not neglect any opportunities that present themselves, for ascertaining the net produce of every estate for a single year, or for any series of years, but he should not harass himself to attain accuracy in this respect, nor when he fancies that he has ascertained

‘ the actual net produce, should he treat this as any certain basis on which to found his settlement. It is better to acknowledge at once, that the operation is not one of arithmetical calculation, but of judgment and sound discretion. It is necessary, therefore, to point out the object which the settlement officer should keep in his view, and the means which he has for attaining the proposed end.

“ 52. It is desirable, that the Government should not demand more than two-thirds of what may be expected to be the net produce to the proprietor during the period of settlement, leaving to the proprietor one-third as his profits, and to cover expenses of collection. By net produce is meant the surplus, which on the estate held entirely by cultivating proprietors, will be the profit on their seer cultivation; but in an estate held by a non-cultivating proprietor, and leased out to cultivators or asamis, paying at a known rate, will be the gross rental.”

It is unnecessary to continue our quotations, as the same rules cannot be applicable to a village settlement in lease, and a field settlement in perpetuity, but the following paragraph is of universal application:—

“ 61. It is a more fatal error to over-assess, than to under-assess. The Government will not test the settlement by the mere amount of direct revenue, which it brings into the treasury. They will judge of it by the soundness of the reasons assigned for fixing it at the amount assumed. If the jumma is less than it was before, they will be satisfied, if the reasons for the reductions are sound and sufficient; if it is the same as before, or more, they will expect that the grounds be explained on which the increase has been renounced or taken. No officer, who performs his work properly, will have any difficulty in assigning reasons for what he has done, or in convincing the Government that he is right. If he is in doubt which of two jummahs to fix, a high one, or a low one, he should always incline to the latter. Over-assessment discourages the people, and demoralizes them by driving them to unworthy shifts and expedients, and it also prevents the accumulation of capital, and dries up the resources of the country. Viewing the question simply in a financial light, an assessment which presses hard upon the resources of the people is most injurious. It checks the population, affects the police, and is felt in the excise, in the stamps, and in the customs. It is evident that the prosperity of the people, and the best interests of the Government, are inseparably bound up together.”

We do not attempt to compare or contrast the two systems

of administration. All we wish to state is, that the Government considered it wise to institute an inquiry into the productive power of the land, and the existing rental in the North Western Provinces, with the view of relaxing their own demand, wherever this should prove to be higher than sound policy dictated, and that a revision of the assessment has been made on sound principles, at some sacrifice of the public revenue.

We now proceed to show, that the rental which was there considered too high, was much lower than that of a Madras Ryotwari settlement, and that the ryots of Madras are therefore bearing an unjust portion of the burdens of the State.

We select our example from the district of Cawnpore.

It may be necessary to inform some of our readers, that in Madras, the cultivated land is generally divided into four classes, viz., 1st, dry (Punjab); 2nd, dry garden or land irrigated by wells; 3rd, wet (Nunjah), or land irrigated from channels or tanks, and 4th, wet garden, or Nunjah lands planted with cocoa-nuts. The wet is again sub-divided into Nadini, or land irrigated by running water, and Erap Nunjah or land irrigated from tanks and channels, but requiring the aid of machinery.

The district of Cawnpore is a flat and fertile province, bounded upon two sides by the Ganges and the Jumna, intersected by several smaller streams, which do not, however, contribute either to irrigation or to navigation in any material degree. It is separated into two great divisions, that on the banks of the Ganges, and that on the banks of the Jumna. Of these the former is the most productive, the water being within fifteen or twenty feet of the surface, and irrigation consequently abundant. The depth increases as you approach the Jumna, so that in the neighbourhood of that river, few or no wells are to be found, and the produce is entirely dependent upon the rains. In the northern pergunnahs, all the more valuable crops, with the exception of sugar-cane, are produced, the sugar being confined to one or two localities. The indigo cultivation, once on the decline, is reviving; cotton is produced all over the district.

The district suffered much from mis-government and oppression. Many of the proprietors' rights have been destroyed, and the cultivators were found to be severely rack-rented by their superiors. A portion of the district is inhabited by a particularly industrious class of cultivators called the Kurmis. The ravages of famines or calamitous seasons have been par-

ticularly severe, especially in those portions which are dependent upon the periodical rains, without the assistance of artificial irrigation. But, notwithstanding these drawbacks, the cultivation is described as presenting a remarkable appearance of prosperity, and the district as having recovered wonderfully from the effects of these reverses.

A careful survey gave the following per-cent of irrigated to unirrigated land :—

<i>Purgunnahs.</i>	<i>Per-cent of irrigation.</i>				
Bilhore	...	...	...	...	63
Russúllabad	...	...	...	...	69
Sheoly	...	...	...	...	70
Ackburpúr	...	...	...	...	63
Bethúr	...	...	...	...	70
Janginhow	...	...	...	...	76
Sulleimpúr	...	...	...	...	71
Sark	...	...	...	...	51

The following are the revenue rates as they existed before the settlement :—

<i>Purgunnahs.</i>	<i>Rates.</i>					
	<i>Cul.</i>			<i>Mal.*</i>		
Sulleimpúr	...	3	9	6	3	5
Janginhow	...	3	8	5	3	4
Bithúr	...	3	5	7	2	15
Sheorajpúr	...	3	2	8	3	10
Sheoly	...	4	1	0	3	0
Bilhore	...	3	9	7	2	8
Russúllabad	...	3	10	7	2	10
Sark	...	2	15	9	2	10
Ackburpúr	...	3	1	3	2	7
Deirapúr	...	2	15	2	2	6
Ghatumpúr	...	2	9	11	2	3
Bhoguipúr	...	2	7	6	1	15

After collecting the statistical materials, and surveying the past and present state of the district, the settlement officer proceeded to consider, whether or not a remission of assessment was called for. The conclusion he arrived at was, that a remission was called for, and this remission was carried out, to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees, on a jumma of less than twenty-two lakhs.

The reasons upon which the settlement officer considered that a remission of the revenue was called for, are stated as follows; and we earnestly beg the reader to bear in mind the state of the Salem district, and to say whether, if these reasons were such as to justify the abandonment of a lakh and a half of rupees in the province of Cawnpore, it is just that the ryots of Salem should bear their present burden.

“ 68. In coming to a conclusion, as to the necessity of a

reduction or the propriety of an increase of revenue, the following are the three points which seem particularly worthy of consideration. First, the existing revenue rates. Secondly, the regularity of the collections. Thirdly, the means employed in realizing the demand, and the condition of the people as affected by the realization of the revenue. I shall proceed to consider these in succession.

“ 69. First. The existing rates. This is a test, which before the present statement, never was employed (probably, because they were never to be depended on); and yet of all tests, it may be said to be the least fallible. If we find two districts of country, nearly similar in soil, situation, facilities of irrigation and habits of people, widely differing in the revenue rates, there can be but one inference, viz., that one is too highly assessed, or that the other is too lowly assessed.

“ 70. At the commencement of the present settlement, when the opportunities, of reference were confined to one or two districts, it might require considerable research and deliberation, to determine whether the assessment of highly rated tracts of country ought to be reduced, or that of the lowly rated enhanced. But at the present advanced period of the settlement, when we have the inquiries and experience of those who preceded us for our guidance ; and when a reference can be made to the rates of similar tracts of country already settled, to assist in determining those of the district or division under consideration—the testing the assessment by general rates, has become comparatively so simple, that no officer possessing a general knowledge of the topography of the country, and having the command of a reference to the settlements, which have been completed in neighbouring or similar districts, can well err.”

The writer then proceeds to show, that the rates are higher than those of any of the neighbouring provinces, and concludes, that there are no local or permanent advantages on the part of Cawnpore, to account for its very high revenue rates, as contrasted with those of similar districts, and “ the fair conclusion to be drawn from this test is, that the present assessment of the district is severe.”

The second head, or the regularity of the collections, we need not quote, as a comparison can hardly be instituted, where the system of collection is so different.

The third test applied is, “ the condition of the people as affected by the realization of the revenue.”

The writer shows, that within the last five years, land yielding 137,000 rupees has been sold under decrees of the Civil Court,

and argues that these sales being, in fact, for debts incurred by the zemindars, to enable them to meet the demands of Government, it proves that the malgúzary profits were not sufficient to enable the proprietors of the soil to fulfil their engagements and retain their possessions; and that had it not been for the fortuitous circumstances, which caused the investment of foreign capital in land, a reduction of assessment would, long before this, have been forced upon the Government.

No such test as this can be applied in Salem now. But we have already adduced a stronger one, in the fact, that the zemindars failed, and that their zemindaries could be bought in by the Government at a low price. Few of the Ryotwari lands are sold publicly, but numberless changes of proprietorship are quietly effected by the tahsildars, in the process of collecting the revenues of Government.

The former and the new assessment, on the completion of the settlement, stood as follows:—

Purgannahs.	Rates per acre for former jumma.			Rates of new jumma, including mausi.		
	Cultivated.	Malgúzary.		Cultivated.	Malgúzary.	
		Malgúzary.	Malgúzary.		Malgúzary.	Malgúzary.
Sulleimpúr	3 9 6	3 5 6	3 4 4	2 15 11		
Janginhow	3 8 5	3 4 ...	3 3 7	2 15 8		
Bithúr	3 5 7	2 15 ...	3 3 3	2 13 3		
Sheorajpúr	3 2 8	2 10 6	3 1 11	2 10 1		
Sheoly	4 1 ...	3 ... 6	3 4 7	2 7 7		
Sark	2 15 9	2 10 11	2 11 8	2 7 6		
Russúllabad	3 10 7	2 10 7	3 3 7	2 15 11		
Bilhore	3 9 7	2 8 1	3 3 1	2 4 ...		
Ackbarpúr	3 1 3	2 7 4	2 12 9	2 4 ...		
Deirapúr	2 15 2	2 6 5	2 10 7	2 3 ...		
Ghuttumpúr	2 10 ...	2 3 3	2 6 6	2 ... 5		
Bhognípúr	2 7 6	1 15 4	2 1 10	1 10 10		

Now if we endeavour to institute a comparison between these two districts, we have, on the one hand, a flat and fertile district, possessing in itself a vast market for its produce, and bounded by two noble rivers connecting it with some of the largest mercantile cities in the world, with water so near the surface, that 58 per cent. of culturable area consists of irrigated lands. On the other hand, we have a mountainous and jungly district, with fertile valleys intervening, in which (omitting the hills and jungles) the irrigated land is only 8 per cent. of the unirrigated, the latter being an inland district,

possessing only towns of moderate size, no military station and no water carriage, except a trifling traffic down the Cavary.

Let us take a Purgunnah from one and a taluk from the other.

The first named Purgunnah in Cawnpore, is that of Sulleimpur. The culturable area is 27,518 acres, of which 70 per cent. are irrigated ; the assessment Rs. 92,098, or Rs. 3-5-7 per acre.

The taluk of Namcul, in the Salem district, comes first to hand. The total of assessed Government lands is acres 52,604,205, bearing an assessment of Rs. 1,22,214-14-8, or Rs. 2-5 and a fraction per acre. But of this, only 6,376 acres are irrigated land, consisting of garden land, assessed at an average of Rs. 6-7-10 per acre ; and Nunjah or wet land, assessed at an average of Rs. 9-5-7.

It may, probably, be said, that as the Nunjah lands are supplied with water from tanks, kept up at the public expense, the assessment ought to be higher, and that the comparison does not hold good ; we will therefore take only the garden lands, watered from wells, which seem to correspond with the irrigated lands at Cawnpore, except that the wells are dug in a hard and rocky soil, and the supply of water is precarious and small.

Now, suppose the irrigated lands of Sulleimpur, consisting of 19,250 acres, to be assessed at Rs. 6-7-10 per acre, and the assessment rises from 92,098 to 1,24,924-7-8, besides the assessment upon 8,250 acres of unirrigated land.

The average rate of unirrigated land in Namcul is 1-7-7 per acre ; therefore, if we add 12,160 rupees as the assessment of these 8,250 acres, we have a total demand of 1,37,084 rupees. The difference between 1,37,084 and 92,098 therefore represents the difference between the burden borne by the lands of Namcul in Salem and of Sulleimpur in Cawnpore, supposing the advantages of fertility, access of market, local demand, &c., to be equal.

But as such calculations are imperfect, unless the price of agricultural produce is ascertained, we have obtained a price current of Cawnpore, and have instituted a comparison between the selling prices at Cawnpore and at the town of Salem, of the principal agricultural products ; and the result is, as might be expected, greatly in favour of the farmer of Cawnpore.

In selecting the district of Cawnpore, we cannot, we think, be said to have chosen an unfair example ; it is, with one exception, the most highly assessed district of the North Western Provinces, and Salem is by no means the most highly assessed of the Madras Ryotwari districts. "The rate at which the de-

‘ mand of Government now falls on the acre, in entire districts in the North Western Provinces, varies from Rs. 1-0-3 in Gorruckpore, to Rs. 2-13-8 in Cawnpore, notwithstanding that it has been nearly trebled in the former district, and much lowered in the latter.”—See No. XXIV. of this Review, page 457.

We have, therefore, by no means, taken extreme cases; and it is not our object to do so. Our limits do not allow us to enter into minute details; and we wish to avoid doubtful questions, and minute estimates. If we show, generally, that the poorer people are the more heavily taxed, if this is shown beyond dispute, our object is gained, and our arguments are more likely to carry our readers with us than if we exhibited stronger contrasts into which doubtful elements are admitted.

We shall now only add some more general remarks. In a previous No. of this *Review*, a sketch has been given of the assessment levied on the lands irrigated by the channels of the North Western Provinces. We have there found reason to estimate the Government rent at one-tenth of the value of the produce of the land; under the Cavery channels of Salem, the assessment is calculated on the principle that Government is entitled to 75 per cent. of the gross produce; and this is where the Government have not even borne the expense of constructing the channel.

The highest assessment of irrigated land in the North Western Provinces is five rupees per acre: in Salem it rises to thirty. But a subject of such interest, as the irrigation of the two Presidencies, should not be mixed up with other matter, but deserves a separate article. What we have said is amply sufficient for our present purpose.

A recent article in the *Friend of India* affords us the opportunity of making a more general comparison, with which we shall conclude:—

“ The average rent paid to Government, on the whole area of assessed land in the North Western Provinces,” (says the Editor,) “ is 1-3-8 per acre, and on the acres actually cultivated 1-12, or three shillings and six pence per acre. If to the land rent we add 28,94,804 rupees obtained from stamps and the excise of spirits, the taxation per head will be found to amount to 1-14—or about three shillings and nine pence for the year. To this must be added the revenue obtained from the customs and the salt tax in the North West.”

The average rent paid to Government on the acres of land actually cultivated in the Salem district, with its scanty irrigation, is 1-14-10 per acre. If to the land rent we add

the revenue derived from the Abbkarry stamps and small farms, the taxation per head will amount to Rs. 2-1-2½ per head.

Where the ryots therefore of the North West pay 360 pice, the ryots of Salem pay 398 ; and we must observe that the land rent of Salem has been taken at the net demand of the year, which is exclusive of the village establishments, the pay of which is about 7 per cent. on the jumma, and properly forms a part of the cost of collection.

But as our object is to keep before the reader's view both the internal and external evidence in favor of a revision of the settlement, we add the following table of the several talúks of the province :—

Names of Talúks.	Average assessment of cultivated land.	Average land-tax per head.	Average of whole taxation per head.	
Ahtúr .....	2 12 11	2 7 6½	2 9 4½	Macleod's division.
Salem .....	2 9 1	2 1 3	2 6 3	
Raizepúr .....	3 7 9	2 6 1½	2 9 11½	
Nameul .....	2 9 0	2 6 0	2 8 7½	
Caramutty .....	2 12 6	2 8 10	2 10 2½	
Trichengode .....	2 5 11	3 0 6½	3 1 11½	Half Macleod's and half Munro's.
Senkerrydrúg .....	2 0 7	2 10 6	2 12 7	
Omalúr .....	1 14 9	2 3 1	2 5 4	Munro's division.
Darampúry* .....	1 4 5	1 7 2½	1 9 6	
Tengercottah .....	1 2 6	1 8 4½	1 9 11½	Graham's and Read's division.
Kistnagherry .....	1 5 9	1 3 9½	1 5 8½	
Triputtúr .....	1 14 4	1 9 6	1 12 1	
Denkencottah .....	1 12 2	1 8 8½	1 14 6	Balaghat, added in 1799.
Ossúr .....	1 14 11	0 13 5½	1 1 0	
Mullapady .....	1 3 3	1 6 11	1 8 3	
Total...	...	...	2 1 2½†	

We beg particular attention to this table, for it appears to us a remarkable proof of what we have advanced above, as to the necessity of descending from general averages to local inspection, in order to ascertain the real state of a country. We have here descended from a comparison between distant provinces, to a comparison between the divisions of a single province, but this is not enough ; the enquiry must descend to the villages of those divisions, and the fields of those villages. The principle of centralization must be reversed. It is not because the dry

\* Above the Ghauts.

† The stamps sold at the huzzúr, are included in the last average.

lands of the zillah of Salem are assessed at an average of 1-6-2 per acre that we say that a revision of the assessment is necessary; it is, because in some of the villages, the best lands bear an assessment of even fifteen rupees per acre, and are lying waste round the village, while the inferior and most distant lands are cultivated. It is not because the garden land bears an average assessment of Rs. 4-10-10, but because it is in some instances assessed at eighteen rupees, and is lying waste in consequence. It is not because the wet land bears an average assessment of Rs. 6-15-3, but because in the taluk of Ahtur 1,152 acres are lying waste, and bear an assessment of 15,228 rupees: —it is, in short, because the real state of the district is disguised by these averages, while the system demands a careful local scrutiny. Nor are we advocating a re-adjustment of the assessment only because it is unequal,—an equal assessment is entirely visionary. We advocate it because the assessment is too high.

It is obvious that the above given averages are of no value whatever, unless the proportion between irrigated and unirrigated land is known. To show still more forcibly how disguising these averages are, we descend only one step, from the averages of the taluk generally, to the averages of dry and irrigated lands, and mark the inequality shown.

Names of taluks.	Average of dry.			Average of garden.			Average of wet.			Average of wet garden.		
	1	11	8	4	12	5	10	8	9	17	1	0
Ahtur.....	1	11	8	4	12	5	10	8	9	17	1	0
Namecul .....	1	5	7	6	8	4	9	6	1	23	7	4
Paramutty .....	1	6	0	5	15	6	12	2	11	25	1	9
Salem .....	1	13	9	4	8	11	7	15	6	24	6	11
Senkerrydrug .....	1	11	0	3	10	6	6	10	6	19	5	10
Raizepür .....	2	5	7	7	6	7	7	6	2	23	10	0
Omalur .....	1	11	7	3	9	5	5	13	8	9	15	11
Trichengode .....	1	9	10	4	11	10	7	6	0	14	12	0
Darampury .....	0	14	1	1	11	1	5	1	5	8	2	5
Tengercottah .....	1	0	1	1	11	6	4	3	8	7	15	9
Kistnagherry .....	0	14	7	1	12	11	5	5	2	12	1	3
Triputtür .....	1	4	1	2	5	5	6	11	1	13	2	11
Denkancottah .....	1	6	5	1	13	7	5	0	9	6	7	11
Ossur .....	1	8	2	2	0	8	5	7	7	7	4	0

This shows only the average assessment of the land cultivated. It is exclusive of the heavily assessed lands now lying waste.

It is also obvious that a similar taxation per head may be a very different proportion of the income of two different people.

We cannot here do better than quote the words of a late Governor of Madras:—

“ The chief point to be kept in view, and the object to the attainment of which the Government should direct its attention, is not whether a certain number of fields are assessed in proportions unequal to another, but whether the land is taxed above its ascertained value, or beyond its powers of production. It matters little in comparison, whether it can be made to pay *more*, but whether, in the eye of a forbearing landlord, it ought to pay *less*. In what degree the fertility of the soil may be increased by the application of more labour, more capital, and more skill, it is impossible to calculate ; for although most of the operations of husbandry, the drill-plough, succession of crops, fallows, and dressing, have been known and practised in this country from a very remote era, expensive improvements in agriculture have never yet found their way to India. But putting aside these considerations, as every ryot is aware that his field will give him greater or less returns in the proportion that he attends to the culture of it, and knows that its produce will differ every year from the one adjoining it, as it is more or less irrigated and manured, it may be safely asserted that no *equality* of assessment can ever be introduced, and it may be well questioned, whether, if it were practicable, it would lead to more prosperity.

“ *It never can be too often repeated that the great object of our administration of the land revenues of India should be to confirm private property in the soil where we have found it, and to create it, where it does not yet exist, by lowering the land tax. The business of altering the demand upon the land according to its annual fluctuations, is not the business of a Government, but should be wholly and unreservedly left to the private ryot, who, by degrees, under a lenient collector, and a light land tax, will become in every district a proprietor.*”

The Government should be content with imposing once for all a moderate assessment, which ought not to be disturbed ; and whatever modifications may hereafter be introduced, should be left to the private bargains of the ryots, who, having established a property in the soil, may be able to sell, use, or sub-rent their lands.

We have now completed the task which we undertook. We have endeavoured to show, that a revision of the assessment of the Madras provinces, similar to that which has been so admirably carried out in the N. W., is a measure which has been advocated through a large series of years, by the ablest

and best members of the Madras Government; and that both external and intrinsic evidence testify to its expediency and its justice. To compare the revenue yielded by the whole Presidency of Madras with that of Agra, has not been within our scope. Such a comparison would be most valuable; but we doubt, whether, for our present purpose, the course we have pursued, of instituting one less extended, may not be the most advantageous. We have shown that every collector of the district, from the time of Colonel Read to the present day, has suggested the measures which we advocate, and that Governor after Governor, Munro, Lushington, and Elphinstone, have supported them. The home Government is surely prepared to deal impartially with its provinces, and we have therefore full confidence that brighter days are at hand.

The question why Madras is the last of the Presidencies to benefit by more advanced principles of Government, is one which we are not anxious to solve. In the beginning of this article, we attributed it much to its distance from the seat of the Supreme Government, but we have learnt, that measures such as we advocate, are already in progress in Bombay. Much, we believe, is due to the amount of revenue at stake, or supposed to be at stake; and much, perhaps, to the constitution of the revenue administration by a Board, instead of by a commissioner. But instead of speculating on these points, we shall only add, that any member of the Madras Government, whose influence shall do for Madras what has been done by others for Bengal and Bombay,—who, taking his proper position, shall adopt the general views of Sir T. Munro, and while watching over the interest of provinces, shall leave local detail to the industry and judgment of his younger fellow servants, will confer a lasting blessing on thousands and thousands of his species. It is sad to think that it is now more than thirty years, since Mr. Hargrave wrote his report; it is more than fifty-eight since Sir T. Munro wrote his letter.

And here, we may add, that the Government may be almost said to be pledged to the British Parliament, to carry out the measures which we advocate. In a paper delivered into the Committee, during the discussions on the present Charter, Mr. A. D. Campbell, a gentleman high in the Civil Service of Madras, states, that a reduction of the assessment in the Salem district had taken place, "that the rates were undergoing reduction to an unlimited extent in Baramahl and Salem, and in Madura and Dendigul, in such fields only as the local authorities deem too highly assessed on the plan observed in Coimbatore." These discussions must soon be renewed, and must it then be said that

Mr. Campbell was mistaken, that such remissions as had been made have been recalled, and that during the twenty years of the Charter they never have been renewed?

We have said, in an early part of this article, that the district which we have chosen for our example of the effects of a Madras Ryotwari settlement, has the advantage of exhibiting, at the same time, the effects of the zemindari experiment. We had intended to offer a few remarks on the results of the two systems as affecting the happiness of the people, but we have already trespassed so long on the reader's patience, that we fear to enter upon so wide a field; and much has already been laid before him in the progress of this sketch, from which his own conclusions may be drawn. To us, we own, that the state of the district appears to afford clear proof of the decided failure of the zemindari system in Madras, though tried under the greatest advantages. The previous survey assessment, and careful registry of rights, have prevented many of the consequences which followed upon this great and well-intended measure in Bengal and the North West Provinces, and ought, if any thing could have done so, to have secured the success of the system; but still it has failed. We cannot attribute the failure to over-assessment, for under a Ryotwari system, many of the estates have exhibited a marked, steady and most satisfactory recovery from the state into which the mútahdars had brought them. Its failure was owing, generally, to the avarice and oppression of the mútahdars, to their neglect of the sources of irrigation, and to their grasping demands upon the people.

To illustrate this point, let us examine the history of some of the mútahs. It will be remembered, that they were handed over to the mútahdars at a fixed assessment, generally 10 to 16 per cent. below the collections made under the Ryotwari system; but they reverted to Government in a ruined condition. Their gradual recovery under Ryotwari management, though no relaxation of demand was conceded, is, we think, a triumphant proof of the effects of limited field assessment, and tenure direct from the Government.

For instance, the estate of Ramarapúram, in the talúk of Senkerrydrúg:—

Permanent assessment.....	6,289	10	5
Collections in Fusly, 1247, the year of lapse.....	1,824	13	9
" 1248 .....	3,902	6	0
" 1249 .....	1,315	0	0

Collections in Fusly, 1250 .....	3,899	0	0
"    1251 .....	4,405	0	0
"    1252 .....	3,611	0	0
"    1253 .....	3,690	0	0
"    1254 .....	4,006	0	0
"    1255 .....	4,085	0	0
"    1256 .....	4,543	0	0
"    1257 .....	5,020	0	0

We have taken this example nearly at random, we will now take some others from the Namcul taluk:—

	Tirmullyputty estate.	Cerkarúdapum estate.	Comorapoliam estate.
Permanent assessment .....	3,675	0 0.....4,915	1 2.....7,530 15 2
Revenue reached in July 1231...	2,472	5 5.....2,848	12 7.....3,892 1 10
"    1232...	2,375	8 1.....3,509	6 2.....4,462 5 11
"    1233...	2,363	1 6.....3,797	12 3.....4,302 5 11
"    1234...	2,520	11 8.....4,102	11 5.....4,883 0 6
"    1235...	2,506	7 0.....4,557	15 5.....5,386 14 1
"    1236 ..	2,411	8 9.....1,254	7 9.....5,549 8 5
"    1237..	2,622	4 8.....4,176	2 1.....5,532 11 8
"    1238...	2,622	5 5.....4,030	12 11.....5,480 12 1
"    1239...	2,732	8 0.....4,000	14 6.....5,259 14 11
"    1240...	2,910	2 9.....4,157	14 1.....5,522 11 2
"    1241...	3,220	8 8.....3,896	8 3.....5,465 5 0
"    1242...	3,195	1 9.....3,257	15 9.....5,392 0 3
"    1243...	3,139	15 9.....2,090	15 11.....5,333 14 8
"    1244...	3,543	1 0 .....	2,352 12 11.....5,485 13 9
"    1245...	3,848	5 2.....2,891	15 1.....5,507 1 6
"    1246...	3,870	8 3.....2,844	2 10.....5,502 4 2
"    1247...	3,829	9 11.....3,155	8 7.....5,717 11 6
"    1248...	4,128	3 11.....3,642	0 9.....5,763 7 11
"    1249...	4,366	15 9.....4,247	5 3. ....5,977 6 5
"    1250...	4,580	7 11.....4,773	7 2.....6,177 14 4
"    1251...	4,758	7 8.....5,276	14 2.....6,435 13 3
"    1252...	4,649	0 6.....5,462	12 6.....6,602 9 5
"    1253...	4,513	1 2.....5,172	4 10.....6,747 3 2
"    1254...	4,530	1 1.....5,115	10 2.....6,842 13 7
"    1255...	4,658	4 5.....4,990	6 0.....6,597 6 10
"    1256...	4,581	0 3.....4,243	12 2.....6,699 15 10
"    1257...	4,638	4 5.....4,746	4 0.....7,072 3 6

On the other hand, where the zemindari assessment appears

most successful, (and many of the estates are flourishing,) we discover no results which would not have as surely followed from a relaxation of the Ryotwari demand.

There is, most certainly, nothing in the character of the mūtahdars generally, calculated to exert a beneficial effect on the people. With some few exceptions, what Francis Horner describes as that odious character which an increase of wealth, without an increase of knowledge, is sure to generate, is typical of these factious landlords.

The effect of the system on the police of the district has been most unfavorable. We believe that it is not more strongly ingrained in the minds of Englishmen, that the legislative power and the executive should be distinct, than it is in that of the Hindu, that the person to whom he pays his rent, is the person from whom he is to expect protection ; and to secure this protection, he must obey his landlord's orders. By the zemindari system, this enormous prestige is transferred from the Government to the zemindar, or from a responsible servant of the Government to an irresponsible private individual, from a man whom Government can remove, to one upon whose character alone it depends whether he shall assist in putting down robberies, or whether he shall organize them.

Very erroneous impressions, we believe, prevail on the subject of Ryotwari settlement, and to some of these we have adverted above ; but to one we have not so prominently alluded. It is thought that the system gives rise to constant interference on the part of the officers of Government; but when the principles of Read and Munro are fully carried out, this interference is very trifling. It only consists in an enquiry, whether the ryot retains his land, whether he abandons it, or whether he takes more; and it is obvious that even this enquiry is gradually diminishing, and must cease as soon as the whole land is taken up and becomes saleable property, as it has done throughout nearly the whole of Canara and Malabar. So long as the assessment varies on the ryot's converting dry into irrigated land, some inspection is necessary, but the same may be said of every species of taxation. The fair question is, whether this interference is more vexatious on the part of the tahsildar, than it would be on that of a zemindar, or the contractor of a village lease, or the heads of a village corporation. We most fully believe that it is infinitely less so.

The zemindari system has been tried in Salem, the village lease has been tried in Coimbatore ; both have failed. Let the principles of Read and Munro be tried under a taxation as

light as that of Bengal or of Agra, and we have not a doubt of the result. No expensive process is necessary; all that is required is a relaxation of the demand, first on the lands now waste from over-assessment, and then on the district generally.

Before closing this article, we would beg to offer only a few further remarks. In endeavouring to point out certain defects in our administration of the country, which have tended to render it less successful than we could have wished, we are far from entering into the exaggerations of those who would represent the British rule to have been barren of all those blessings which a semi-barbarous and oppressed people were entitled to expect from a civilized and intelligent Government. We believe that financial pressure, and a system of check and controul, have prevented those local reforms which would have proved of inestimable value to several portions of the province; but if, at the same time, we take a more general survey of the effects of the Government, we shall find much to dwell upon that is full of hope and encouragement.

The first great blessing that a Government can confer upon a people is, undoubtedly, peace; by which we mean protection from foreign invasion and internal tumult. These blessings the district has enjoyed for more than half a century, uninterruptedly. The extent of this blessing will be appreciated by comparing it with the state of the country previously to our accession, as pictured in the following passage from Colonel Wilkes:—

“ Illustrations of the manners and immemorial habits of a people are sometimes unexpectedly derived from a careful attention to the elements or the structure of their language. On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman, and child, above six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers,) with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found), exempted from the miseries of war, sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence, until the departure of the enemy; and if this should be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger.

“ The people of a district thus deserting their homes are called the Wulsa of the district. A state of habitual misery,

‘ involving precautions against incessant war, and unpitying depredations, of so peculiar a description as to require, in any of the languages of Europe, a long circumlocution, is expressed in all the languages of Deckan and the south of India, by a single word !

“ No proof can be accumulated from the most profound research, which shall describe the immemorial condition of the people of India, with more authentic precision than this single word.

“ It is a proud distinction that the Wulsa never departs on the approach of a British army, when unaccompanied by Indian allies.”

Next to external and internal peace, the greatest national blessing is, perhaps, the administration of equal justice; but to enter upon this topic, would lead us too far from our subject. It is sufficient to say, that the province has enjoyed the advantage of Courts of Appeal, presided over by men, whose integrity was never impeached, and whose endeavours to counteract the national vices of falsehood, and fraud, have been unremitting. If the comparative amount of revenue which reached the Government under native rule and under the British Government, depended, as Munro observed, on the difference between the characters of one of Tippú's Asophs and Colonel Read ; the amount of justice received by the people from their protectors, would depend upon the difference between the characters of a native kazi, and such men as John Bird and Edward Bannerman.

After the administration of justice, we would place in the list of national blessings the freedom of commerce ; let us see what was the state of things when the Government came into our hands.

The following table exhibits this state. It is an account of the number of stations at which duties were levied on merchandize, in only one division of the district, prepared in the year 1795. It embraces the five principal lines of commerce, from the chief town of the division, and shows that there was a Custom House, at which every common article of merchandize was taxed, on an average at every eighth mile.

Examples showing the amount of road duties exacted on various articles of merchandise in the ceded countries north of the Cavery.

Routes.	Custom theories.	1st.		2nd.		3rd.		4th.		5th.		6th.	
		On copper, tallow, lead, tin, wax, honey, cloves, cinnamon, nutmeg, mace, saffron, soap, nuts and chaffies.	On pepper, garlic and beetle-nut.	On ghee and oil.	On raw silk.	On cotton cloths.	On salt.	On jaggery or coarse sugar.	On salt.	On cotton cloths.	On raw silk.	On pepper, garlic and beetle-nut.	On ghee and oil.
Between Salem and the Cavery at Melmagru, Condiamputty, Erepaddy, Pudamputty.		84	28	34	5	40	4	1	1	1	1	1	1
Between Salem and the Cavery at New Pettah, Salem, Melmagru, Condiamputty, Erepaddy, Pudamputty.		14	14	14	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	1	1
Between Salem and the Cavery at New Pettah, Salem, Melmagru, Condiamputty, Erepaddy, Pudamputty.		14	14	14	20	20	74	1	1	1	1	1	1
For a distance of 36 miles.		5	31	31	35	35	164	164	164	164	164	164	164
For a distance of 34 miles.		25	48	148	23	1224	3646	23	23	23	23	23	23
For a distance of 36 miles.		41	28	2278	3724	41852	115	327	327	327	327	327	327
For a distance of 34 miles.		124	69	1262	1617	32933	344	19	19	19	19	19	19

*Examples showing the amount of road duties exacted on various articles of merchandise in the ceded countries north of the Casary.—(Continued.)*

Routes.	Custom cheories.	On copper, tuten- nique, lead, tin, wax, honey, cloves, cinnam- mon, nutmeg, mace, saffron, soap, nuts and chillies.			On pepper, garlic and beetle-nut.			On raw silk.			On cotton cloths.			On salt.			On jaggiri or coarse sugar.		
		Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.	Per bullock load.		
		3rd.																	
		New Pettah Salem	81	14	5	38	14	5	40	2	4	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	
		Curdur	5	5	44	14	5	16	5	16	8	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	
		Pgijury Puttury	44	31	34	44	44	16	16	16	10	1	1	1	4	1	1	1	
		Adamnecotta																	
		Daramphry	228	184	184	20	20	90	29	29	3	3	3	174	174	174	174	174	
		For a distance of 40 miles, . . . . .	37	9	30	30	30	33204	33204	33204	3 10 76	3 10 76	3 10 76	1 2 3	1 2 3	1 2 3	4 69	4 69	4 69
		4th.																	
		New Pettah Salem	8	14	5	38	14	2	40	16	16	16	16	16	4	1	1	1	
		Mill Cr.	3	3	14	14	2	14	8	8	8	74	74	74	1	1	1	1	
		Muna Chorie	3	3	4	54	54	54	34	34	34	16	16	16	5	5	5	5	
		Chitter Chorie	3	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	16	16	16	24	24	24	24	
		Pullipollum	5	5	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	16	16	16	16	16	16	16	
		Pavetram	2	2	14	14	14	14	14	14	14	136	136	136	6	6	6	6	
		Tatingarpatty	25	25	154	154	154	154	154	154	154	204	204	204	18	18	18	18	
		For a distance of about 4 miles . . . . .	20	44	47	47	47	47	47	47	47	33	33	33	40	40	40	40	
															21	21	21	21	
															15	15	15	15	

*Examples showing the amount of road duties exacted on various articles of merchandize in the ceded countries north of the Cauvery.—(Concluded.)*

When it is remembered, that every article may now be conveyed from Salem to the sea coast, without interruption; that not a single duty is levied at any town, fair or market, throughout the district; that the ryot (who was then compelled to deal with the merchant, who had alone the power of passing, by means best known to himself, through these Custom Houses,) can now seek the best market, and obtain the full price for the produce of his industry; we need not carry the contrast farther: nor need we wonder, if the abolition of the transit duties is a measure almost universally condemned by the merchants and the servants of Government, nor, if those whose statements can alone reach the Government, complain of an imagined decline of ~~commercial~~ prosperity. The interests of the few, the very few, have been sacrificed to those of the many.

Next to freedom of commerce, we would place the facility of locomotion, the state of public roads; and on this subject, we can speak with unmixed satisfaction. From one end of the district to the other, from north to south, and from east to west, excellent roads, bordered by flourishing avenues, do honor to the zeal and perseverance of several collectors, who have successively turned their attention to this subject, and above all, the late Mr. John Orr. The whole extent of roads within the district, which has been completed, planted, guarded by ditches, and, with few exceptions, marked by mile stones, amounts to 726 miles. They are traversed night and day, by hundreds of country carts, without let or hindrance, and may be traversed by any English traveller in his own carriage. The bridges built in the district amount to eighty-four.

Peace, external and internal, justice purely administered, commerce free and unfettered, communication facilitated; these are important ingredients in national prosperity; and we have strong proof that much prosperity has been their result.

Although it has been our object to shew how some unfortunate circumstances have, in many parts of the district, impeded the progress of cultivation, and that in most of the estates under Government management, it has actually retrograded in comparison with the early years of our rule, still such is the blessing of peace and free commerce, that taking the whole of the district, the lightly assessed Balaghat, the moderately assessed Baramahl, the rent-free Agraaharams, and the best managed of the zemindari estates, there has been, on the whole, an encreas-

ed production, evinced by cheap prices accompanying an increased population ; and it will have been seen that there is reason to attribute the decline which does exist, as much to the well-intentioned zemindari experiment, as to actual over-taxation. Nor will it be forgotten, that the fraudulent practices of the people defeated the intentions of Government for their good.

There are many indications of increasing prosperity visible. There are not wanting, in the district, instances, now common throughout India, of cultivation having driven the wild beasts far from the haunts, where sportsmen now living used to find them in abundance.

The following is a curious instance of progress. A registry of the fruit trees in the district was made by Colonel Read. The number of tamarind trees then entered was as follows :—

<i>Enam lands.</i>	<i>Back-yards.</i>	<i>Ryots' holdings.</i>	<i>Jungles.</i>
738	876	422	2,545

This was, doubtless, a most incorrect return ; but now the trees planted by the road sides alone, of which a large proportion are tamarind trees, amount to 162,374.—(Here we cannot help remarking, by way of parenthesis, that the reason why the Salem district excels all others in its roads is, that a local tax, on betelnut gardens, was assigned at an early date to local improvements.—See Mr. Hargrave's reports.)

The value of land is decidedly rising, and in many places, to a considerable extent.

When the district was first handed over to our Government, an application was made to Colonel Read, by the officer commanding, for bricklayers to assist in building the officers' bungalows. Colonel Read's answer is on record, and states, that no such person as a bricklayer existed in the district. In the last two seasons, a bridge has been built over the river Cavary, of twenty-six arches, each of sixty feet span, chiefly by bricklayers and artificers of the Salem district.

The manufacturers of Salem are, decidedly, in a flourishing condition ; and this is evinced by the great extension of the principal manufacturing town, that of Salem itself. New streets, with houses of a superior description, are springing up in every direction, the abolition of the transit duties having given a stimulus to the demand for their strong webs, while the cheap prices of the articles of consumption, enable them still to compete with the machinery of England in the Indian market.

A very rapid increase in the number of carts, built at Salem, and Attur, evinces much commercial activity.

Such then are the mixed results of our Government. If it be objected that the former and the latter part of our paper are contradictory, we answer, that if a person seriously endeavours to represent things as they are, his statements must be contradictory, for he has to describe contradictions. A Government conferring peace and justice, but maintaining a land tax admitted to be too high—trade encouraged, but agriculture repressed;—remissions made for the benefit of a newly created zemindar, and recalled from the industrious ryot—the industry of peace struggling against the Government which confers it—these are what he has to describe. But if they are fairly described, if, while he candidly brings to notice the errors which exist, he avoids alike the exaggerations of the agitator and the glosses of the partisan, his statements will not fail to meet with candid attention, or to yield their contribution towards the great cause of improvement.

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ART. V.—1. *A Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency, from 1835 to 1851. By J. Kerr, M. A., Principal of Hooghly College. Part I. Calcutta. 1852.*

2. *The Bombay Gazette, February 11th, 1852.—Speech of Sir Erskine Perry.*

IN Mr. Kerr's book, the reader will find a complete and scholar-like manual of the history, mechanism, and working of native education, as conducted in the Government Institutions of the Bengal Presidency, for the last sixteen years. It would be very difficult to find a writer better qualified for the task, which he has undertaken. The facts, which he narrates, have fallen chiefly within the limits of his own personal observation; the questions, which he discusses, have been often before his own mind; and with all the details of the Government system, from his official position, he is intimately and familiarly acquainted. His turn of mind also is clear, distinct, and methodical; and his style, not wanting in a certain quiet humour, is always dispassionate and gentleman-like. In the treatment of a very delicate subject, he has chosen his ground with much tact and good sense; and so long as he keeps strictly to the plan which he has chalked out for himself, his work is all but unexceptionable. That which he proposes to do, and which he has ably and thoroughly accomplished, will be best learned from his own modest and well written preface, which we quote at length:—

It is proposed in the following pages to give a brief history of education in the Bengal Presidency, from the year 1835 to 1851.

With the year 1835, a new era commenced in the history of education in Bengal. It was at this period that Lord Bentinck's resolution appeared, which put a stop to the expenditure of the educational funds on stipends to students who had not earned them, and on Arabic and Sanscrit publications which were little read; and directed that they should henceforth be mainly employed in imparting instruction through the medium of the English language.

A fresh impulse was now given to native education. A more active interest was awakened in the superintending authorities. Annual reports, exhibiting the state and progress of public instruction, began to be regularly published for the information of the public. New schools were established. The old establishments were improved and enlarged. Libraries were formed in the colleges and in the principal provincial schools.

The time appears to have arrived for the preparation of a book of the kind proposed. Setting aside the consideration that all important questions relating to India, among which that of education undoubtedly occupies a very prominent place, are beginning to attract a more than ordinary share of public attention, as the period approaches for the revision of the East India Company's Charter in 1853, there are at present no means by which

any one who takes an interest in native education, as carried on in the Government institutions, can readily acquaint himself with its history for the past sixteen years. The information is only to be found in the annual printed reports, a complete set of which can scarcely be met with anywhere, and in the manuscript records of Government, which are not open to the public eye. Even those few persons, who possess a complete set of the printed reports, will find it no easy task to obtain a clear view of what has been done, from so many volumes, in which there are many repetitions and some contradictions, much that is only of temporary use, and much that is of no use. The time has arrived for condensing those reports, for extracting from them whatever is valuable, and placing it before the reader arranged under appropriate heads.

Such an analysis may be considered as the main object of the following pages. It is not, however, the only object. The writer hopes that the situation, which he has held in the educational service of Government for the last ten years, has given him the opportunity of observing some things which it may be useful to make known, and has qualified him in some degree for expressing an independent opinion on the various subjects which will come under review. But he is anxious to deal with facts rather than opinions; the latter, whether his own or those of others, being introduced sparingly.

It is proposed to divide the subject into two parts. The first part will contain a statement of the general principles and most prominent features which mark the Government system of education, including the agency employed for superintending and carrying on the system. The second part will contain a brief report on each of the Government educational institutions in Bengal, and in the North Western Provinces, embracing its foundation and early history, its ordinary income and expenditure, a statement of the number of pupils for the last sixteen years, a selection from the reports of local committees and examiners, and other matters of general and permanent interest.

There can be no question that Mr. Kerr has amply fulfilled the promise, which he holds out; but we must confess to a very natural feeling of surprise and disappointment, on finding, in a work which professes (in its opening sentence) to be a history of education in Bengal, only one or two cursory and incorrect references to the great Missionary institutions, and the large and flourishing private schools and academies, the pupils of which, in this city at least, out-number those attending the Government seminaries at least five-fold. His book is really the educational history of the last sixteen years, with all but the Government part, left out; and the obvious tendency of the work (most unconsciously, we believe, on the part of the author) is to make that part bulk much more largely, than it has any right to do, in the public eye. This erroneous impression would be confirmed and deepened by a circumstance, for which Mr. Kerr is in no wise responsible. The great victories of native education had been won before he came among us. He did not witness the reign of barbaric ignorance, intolerance, and superstition; or taken any part in the struggles, by which it was overthrown. The Minute of Lord William

Bentinck, which is the epoch from which Mr. Kerr dates his history, was but a formal taking possession of the land. It was the decree for the annexation of the Punjab, after the battles of Múdkí and Ferozepore, of Sobraon and Chilianwallah. Mr. Kerr found us sailing on a smooth sea, with a fair wind, and a flowing tide.

He knows therefore only imperfectly, and from report, how very much had been done by others, and how very little had been done by Government, to turn the tide of public opinion, on which the state bark is now so confidently sailing. The Government medicine for the benighted Bengalis was even more minute than that homeopathic globule of reform, which *Punch* represents Lord John Russel as administering to the astounded John Bull. But the globules of Sanscrit and Arabic and Persian, which it pleased the Honorable Company to administer, found no favour with the unhappy patient, even though he was paid for trying to swallow them. It never occurred to the Government, that, when a man's only complaint is starvation, food is better than physic; and the system of infinitesimal doses of poison—that is, of Heathenism and Vedantism, and Muhammadanism—might have been going on to this day in full vigour, but for the interference of men without the Government pale, who won their way, step by step, overcoming obloquy, reproach and superstition, by literary enthusiasm, or philanthropy, or faith.

In the year 1815, soon after the renewal of the Charter, a few friends, among whom was Mr Hare, met together, one evening, in Rammohun Roy's house; and the conversation turned on the most fitting means for the destruction of superstition, and the elevation of the native mind and character. Rammohun contended earnestly for the establishment of a weekly meeting, for the purpose of gradually undermining the prevailing system of idolatry, by teaching the pure and more intellectual dogmas of the Vedanta.

To this Mr. Hare decidedly objected. His strong natural good sense showed him the visionary and impracticable nature of a scheme, which professed to act upon the masses, by teaching them what they could not possibly comprehend. It must be confessed, too, that he had a most impartial dislike for all religions, and eschewed the religious element altogether. He proposed, instead, the establishment of a college for native youth; and the two friends separated, each wedded to his own plan, which they carried out with characteristic energy. The Rajah founded the *Bramha Sabha*, an incomprehensible jumble of monotheism, pantheism, and eclecticism; and the in-

tellectually inferior, but sturdy practical mechanic, originated the Hindu College, and more remotely the whole system of Anglicized native education.

Mr. Hare's first step was to draw up a circular, stating generally the objects he had in view, and soliciting aid and countenance from the leading men in the European and native communities. At an early stage, it fell into the hands of Sir Edward Hyde East, the Chief Justice for the time being. This gentleman not only remodelled the circular for the better, but entered into the scheme with such spirit and cordiality, and, from his influence and position in society, brought it forward so prominently, that it was very generally supposed to have originated with him. After frequent private meetings and discussions, the first public meeting was held in his house, on the 14th of May, 1816, and was largely attended by native and European gentlemen, and by many of the most eminent Pandits in Calcutta. The proposal to establish an institution for the education of the native youth was fully explained to the meeting by the learned Judge, and was received with unanimous approbation.

In an adjourned meeting, held on the 21st, it was resolved that the Institution should be called "The Hindu College of Calcutta;" and a committee and office bearers were appointed.

To form any just idea, and to take any fair view of the history of native education, or of the part which the Government plays in it, one must look, not to the last sixteen years, but to the twenty which preceded them; and, in after times, when Hindustan shall have become an enlightened and Christian nation, the educational annals of the period between 1815 and 1835, now obscure and half-forgotten, will be searched for with avidity, and come forth into the broad day; and the actors take a place—and no mean place—among national benefactors.

There are two gentlemen still with us in the full ripeness of intellect and manhood, who could write that history worthily; who have seen the darkness which they helped to dispel, and who may rightly claim the proud distinction of "*emeriti*." That keen sagacious eye, which still looks out from the watch-tower of Serampore, with a little help from family traditions, can trace the whole process from its germ to its present stage of progress, and arrange, in orderly array and sequence, events, misunderstood it may be, or slightly marked at the time when they occurred, but to which the future has given weight and significance. No one can doubt the interest, with which Mr. Marshman must have watched the struggle, in which, from

personal and family associations, as well as on higher grounds, his own hopes and feelings were so deeply implicated. We trust that in the forthcoming biography of his gifted and venerable father, we shall find all that we desire.

The other gentleman, whose reminiscences would be, to many, perhaps even more interesting, is the Reverend Professor Banerjya of Bishop's College. His experience, indeed, cannot go back so far as 1815 ; for, we question whether he had been born then : but no man living was more mixed up with the movement, or has a better right to say, without vanity or exaggeration, "*quorum pars maxima fui.*" He passed through all the alternations of the struggle. He was the intimate friend and associate of almost every name of note, which influenced the result, whether for good or evil. He was for a time the acknowledged leader, the hero, and in some sort, the martyr, of the ultra-liberal party among the educated natives : and, we do him but justice, when we say, that he acted throughout with a spirit, a boldness, a conscientiousness, and love of truth, rare, if not altogether unparalleled, among his countrymen.

The time has come, we think, when Mr. Banerjya is at full liberty to tell the truth, without fear or favour ; and, if there be one or two individuals still living, whose past offences it might seem ungenerous to rake up, however well they may deserve any censure that could be inflicted on them, it would be easy to withhold their names, and to deal only with their actions. Such a work, faithfully and conscientiously executed, would not only be useful and worthy of Mr. Banerjya's position and talents ; but, we believe, would win for itself, not only an Indian, but a British, and (not improbably) a European reputation. It would teach lessons too, perhaps, worth knowing—*one* at the least ; that whatever amount of change may be produced by the inlet of European knowledge into the native mind, (and that change was never manifested, and never will be manifested again, with more of enthusiasm, and energy, and reckless boldness, than by the original "Young Bengal") the result shows but two issues :—it will evaporate into worse than nothing, or condense into Christianity. Thus much, at least, the last thirty years have determined. We shall have to do with this subject again, ere we part with Mr. Kerr.

In the mean time, we shall attempt to present a brief outline of the leading events in the history of native education, previous to 1835 ; and, following Mr. Kerr's excellent example, we seek "to deal with facts rather than opinions ;" as to the lat-

ter, however, by no means refraining from the free expression of our own.

Whatever other influences may have been at work previously, the first great practical step towards the improvement of native education, and towards rescuing it from the incapable hands of the *Pandits* and *Gurús*, was the foundation of the Hindu College. Nothing had been done, or has yet been accomplished, in the endowed oriental colleges and institutions, which has not been better done by the natives, when left to themselves. No revival of the ancient sciences of India, no new work of importance, no distinguished scholar, ever proceeded from a Government Oriental College. To perpetuate these was to perpetuate false science and superstition ; and it began to be felt, that, if hope was to come for India, it must come from elsewhere.

The man, who was the first to master this idea, and to turn it to practical use, was the late Mr. David Hare.

The impetus, indeed, came from a very different quarter, and originated long before. The labours and example of such men as Buchanan, and Brown, and Corrie and Martyn, and the Serampore Missionaries, drew the attention of many thoughtful and benevolent men, who had little in common with them, to the wants and to the woes of India. The "Clapham sect" had, at last, turned the tide of public opinion ; and in 1813, India, by Act of Parliament, was open to the Gospel. But it ought to be frankly acknowledged, that though the Missionaries were foremost in the field, and foremost in labour and zeal and love for the natives of this land, they do not seem to have entertained any scheme for national education, or any idea of introducing on a large scale the science and literature of Europe, as helps to Christianization, or means of social improvement. What they may fairly claim is, that they did the work of calling public attention to the moral and religious degradation of the Hindus ; and of those who thought with them on this subject, but differed from them in all else, no names stand out so prominently as those of Rammohun Roy and David Hare.

The former was a man of distinguished ability, with a versatile and highly accomplished mind, much given to metaphysical speculation, and the first of his countrymen, who can truly be looked upon as a sincere patriot and philanthropist. The other was an illiterate and ill-educated man, with narrow views, and without the gift of written or spoken utterance. But his mind was eminently practical, and he had got firm hold of one grand idea. These men, so opposite, were drawn together by their common desire for the moral and political

improvement of the Hindus; and in both, this desire was a passion.

The original committee was very large—too large for efficient working—and contained far too much of the unchanged native leaven. The following is a list of the members; we believe, it will be read by many, with interest and curiosity:—

SIR EDWARD HYDE EAST, *Knight; President.*

J. H. HARRINGTON, ESQ., *Vice-President.*

W. C. Blaquiere, Esq.,  
Capt. J. W. Taylor,  
H. H. Wilson, Esq.,  
N. Wallich, Esq., M. D.,  
Lieut. W. Price,  
D. Heming, Esq.,  
Capt. T. Roebuck,  
Lieut. Francis Irvine,  
Chaturbhuj Nyasrutten,  
Subram Mohesh Shastri,  
Mritunjoy Bidyalunkar,  
Roghomuni Bidyabhosun,  
Tarapersad Nyabhosun,  
Gopimohun Thakur,

Harimohun Thakur,  
Gopimohun Deb,  
Jyekissen Singh,  
Ramtonoo Mullick,  
Obhoy Churn Banerjya,  
Ramdulal Dey,  
Rajah Ram Chund,  
Ramgopal Mullick,  
Boisnorb Das Mullick,  
Chaitan Churn Set,  
Shib Chunder Mukerjya,  
Radhakant Deb,  
Ramruttun Mullick,  
Kali Sunkar Ghosal.

It will be observed here, that the name of David Hare does not appear in the list. With his characteristic shrinking from public appearances, he declined to take any official appointment; although his services in procuring subscriptions and pupils, and in many other ways, were unremitting. It must not be forgotten also, that Mr. Hare had not yet acquired a reputation, and was not in (what is called) "society;" and that already "the cold shadow of the aristocracy," and the darkness of bigotry and superstition, fell ominously over the projected institution.

On the 20th January, 1817, the school was opened for the first time, in a house (304, Chitpore Road) hired for the purpose;—Sir Hyde East, Mr. Harrington, and many other influential gentlemen being present. Seven months had passed of active and busy preparation. Upwards of 60,000 rupees had been subscribed. The Committee alone numbered thirty members. The scheme had the sanction of the pandits, the favour of the public, and the countenance and active support of the leading members of the Government: but after all this "note of preparation," only TWENTY pupils came forward to be enrolled on the list. In three months more, the number struggled painfully upwards to sixty-nine; and there, the free scholars and an

eleemosynary contribution of twenty from the Calcutta School Society *included*, it remained stationary for upwards of six years.

Mr. Kerr is quite mistaken, in supposing that the Hindu College "was founded by a spontaneous impulse of the native mind" (p. 6). The scheme was entirely foreign to the native mind; was forced upon it from without; and, again and again, would have been abandoned in despair or indifference, but for the determined, enthusiastic, and solitary perseverance of David Hare. So little desire or demand was there for the study of the English, that the Managers were obliged to introduce, not only Bengali, but Persian, and, (if we mistake not,) Arabic also, in order to render the new fangled teaching more palatable to the native mind.

During the six years that intervened between 1817 and 1823, the school was shifted about from place to place. It was first removed to another house in the Chitpore Road; then to a house, afterwards occupied by Dr. Duff, for the General Assembly's Institution. Its next flight was of all the most eccentric. The sapient Managers removed the so-called Hindu College into the heart of the Bow Bazar; which, when explained for the benefit of the uninitiated, means, that they took it out of the native town altogether, and set it down in a street, notorious as the haunt of drunken sailors, and the most desperate and dissolute characters of a great Heathen metropolis. From this they again moved off to a scarcely more congenial vicinity—the well known Tiretta Bazar.

Who the teachers were, during this dark period, or what they taught, we have no means of knowing. The school made no progress; and the cause of native education seemed to be lost. Its English supporters, disappointed by the insignificant result, thwarted in their plans of improvement, and disgusted with the jealousy and absurd prejudices and suspicions of the native majority in the Management, left it to its fate; and that majority, having, as may well be supposed, no very violent love for European light and knowledge, would have liked nothing better than to break up the college, and to get back the money which they had so rashly subscribed. Mr. Hare alone stood firm as a rock; but even he, at last, saw no other means of averting the impending catastrophe, than an appeal to Government to come forward to the rescue.

Yet, that unpromising beginning is to us full of cheerful augury. Not very long ago, the foundation stone of Mr. Bethune's Female School was laid with much pomp and circumstance. Cornwallis Square was honoured with the unwonted presence of a Governor of Bengal, and Members of Council,

and Secretaries, and an imposing assemblage of the great, the gifted, and the fair ; colours flashed in the sun ; speeches were made ; and the future seemed full of brilliant promise for the domestic happiness and social elevation of Bengal. The master spirit of that institution, indeed, has passed away, :— but where are all its other well-wishers now ? Its dark period has come very rapidly. Let us hope that better days are at hand ; and that our present Governor-General, by a generous and judicious patronage, may accomplish for the females of India, as much as has been already accomplished, against difficulties nearly equal, for the males. Such a consummation would be a brighter gem in his coronet, than the annexation of Burmah and the Punjab. Among the thousands of young men, who have received an English education, and many of whom are now heads of families themselves, there is, or *there ought to be*, a powerful lever to ply against the dead weight of prejudice and custom, which, for ages, has borne so heavily on the mothers, the wives, and the daughters of Bengal ; and which native apathy will never lift up without the helping hand of a more energetic race. But we have been looking forward thirty years ; and we are yet only in “pleine” 1823.

The Government (it was in the time of Mr. Adam) listened favourably to the request of the Managers. It had already resolved to establish a Sanscrit college in 1821, and to allow 30,000 rupees annually for that purpose : and, when the question of a building for the new institution came to be entertained in 1823, happily for the Hindu College, it was agreed to locate them both under the same roof.

“Rome,” however, “was not built in a day.” The foundation stone of the new building was not laid until the 25th of February, 1824 ; and we may notice here, that more than three years elapsed after that time, ere it was ready for the reception of the students.

It was natural for the Government, which, in addition to the building, had granted a munificent annual endowment, to look for something in the shape of a “*quid pro quo*.” The Managers hitherto had done nothing to justify any confidence in their wisdom or discretion. Every measure, which they originated, bore the stamp of ignorance and incapacity ; and it was plain, that, if the experiment were to be entrusted solely to their guidance, its doom was sealed. The Government, therefore, desired or demanded, that a properly qualified Visitor should be appointed on their part, for the purpose (formally) of watching over and directing the appropriation of their pecuniary grant.

This reasonable and most salutary proposal was met with the most violent opposition, as indeed might have been anticipated. Fortunately, there were a few men of sense in the Management—such men, for instance, as Ramcomul Sen, Russomoy Dutt, and Radhakant Deb. But for them, the proposal of the Government would have been rejected; and, it was with considerable difficulty, that it received at last a reluctant and ungracious assent. The speech of Russomoy Dutt (now one of the judges of the Small Cause Court) on this occasion, deserves notice. The Babu frankly confessed that, after seven years' labour, the college had produced nothing better than a few *heranis* (native clerks in the public offices); and that it was vain to expect, ever to accomplish the objects which they had in view, or to succeed in giving their children a liberal and enlightened education, without calling in the aid of European talent and energy.

This was the real turning point in the history of the institution; for it resulted in the appointment of Mr. Horace Hayman Wilson, as Vice-President of the sub-committee, and Visitor of the college. A better choice could not possibly have been made. Perhaps, no man, since the days of the "admirable Crichton," has united in himself such varied, accurate, and apparently opposite talents and accomplishments. A profound Sanscrit scholar, a grammarian, a philosopher, and a poet, he was at the same time the life of society, and a practical and clear-headed man of business. On the stage as an amateur, or in the professor's chair as the first orientalist of our time, he seemed always to be in his place. He has written on the antiquities and numismatology, on the history, literature, chronology and ethnology of Hindustan; and, on all these subjects, no man, not even Colebrooke himself, has written so much and so well. His works show all the erudition of the German school, without its heaviness, pedantry and conceit; and his style is that best of all styles, the style of an accomplished English gentleman.

This able and distinguished scholar speedily conciliated all parties, and won all suffrages. His name alone was a tower of strength to the Orientalists. His affability and courtesy of manner endeared him to the students, and disarmed the prejudices of the bigoted party in the Management. He doubled the hours of teaching. He introduced the system of public examinations. He obtained energetic new masters, and infused new life into the old. In the first year of his management, the number of pupils rose to two hundred. He found 14,000 rupees of arrears uncollected; he realized them. Four thousand rupees

had disappeared ; he replaced them. The institution became so rich, as to lose 60,000 rupees by the failure of Baretto and Co. ; and it could afford the loss. In a few years, there were four hundred names on the list, most of them paying pupils. The Hindu College became the fashionable school for the young Babus of Calcutta. It rose into notoriety and importance; and, for a time, threw all other establishments into the shade.

In the expansion of heart, caused by this new and unexpected prosperity, Mr. Hare's services were at last remembered and acknowledged. He was appointed superintendent of the pupils contributed by the Calcutta School Society, and an Honorary Member of the Management.

But this gentleman's work was now over. The cause, for which he had toiled and fought, almost single-handed, was now triumphant, and had reached a stage, where his services were no longer required ; for, though an excellent pioneer, he was not fit to be a General. No man was better acquainted with Bengali human nature. No European ever went in and out so freely and so familiarly among the people of this land. He was far more at home with them than with his own countrymen ; and, from his constant intercourse with the native lads, and his earnest desire for their improvement, he earned for himself the singularly inappropriate *soubriquet* of "Padre Hare."

The truth is, that he was a man of a very common-place mind ; and, though much beloved by the students, he had no weight, and little or no moral influence over them. He was a man riding a hobby, and riding it with all his might. But he had no large or enlightened views of the future, or of the spirit he sought to raise ; and when, like another Frankenstein, it rose into sudden and portentous life before him, astonished and bewildered, he knew not how to find work for it, or whither to direct its gigantic energies. What he wished or expected Young Bengal to become eventually, if he had any definite ideas on the subject, is unknown to us ; but, we have heard, that, when the most distinguished of his favourite pupils was about to become a Christian, he was surprised by a visit from Mr. Hare, who came to remonstrate with him upon the absurdity of the step he was about to take, in exchanging "one superstition for another." We believe that the reply, though sufficiently respectful, was such, as to send Mr. Hare away thoughtful but not displeased, and to seal his lips for the future.

The Hindu College now enjoyed a brilliant reputation. Mr. Wilson had raised it from a wretched petty school into a

fashionable and flourishing college. This was no slight achievement in itself, even for a man like him; but, when the prejudices, the suspicions, and the bigotry of the majority in the Management are taken into account, his tact and success appear quite extraordinary.

It would be a great mistake, however, to identify Mr. Wilson with the new Anglo-Bengali movement. An institution was entrusted to him; and he did all he could to make it flourish. In that institution an experiment was going on; and he took care that it should have fair play. But he expressed neither interest nor sympathy in the result; and, when a storm arose, directed against the rising movement, we give a favourable view of his policy in saying, that he submitted and bowed to the blast.

His position, indeed, was strikingly similar to that of the Government, whose servant he was. The new experiment, on trial in the Hindu College, was in no respect theirs. They neither originated, directed, nor sympathized with it. All that they did spontaneously for education, was done for the study of Oriental literature; and all the money at their disposal flowed into that favourite channel. It is true, that, after repeated solicitations, they *subscribed* to the Hindu College, and sent one of their servants to look after the appropriation of their money. But native education, as we see it now, was an abomination in their eyes. The Government of that day held the opinions of the Thoby Prinseps and the Tytlers, who ridiculed the idea of teaching the natives English, and amused themselves with publishing, as specimens of the results to be expected, letters in broken English, or the *patois* of the China Bazar. It needed ten years more of trial, and results that forced themselves upon the consideration of the most prejudiced, and the astonishing success of Duff, and all the energies of Trevelyan, and the influence of Macaulay, and the determination of Lord William Bentinck, to compel the Government—to drive it against its will—into a measured and cautious patronage of Anglo-Bengali education.

We have mentioned that new and more efficient teachers had been introduced into the college; and now, at last, a pathway for the native mind into the science and literature of Europe was practically open. The result far exceeded all anticipation. Hinduism, as is well known, is not only a system of false religion, but a system of false science; and its whole authority depends upon tradition and custom. Hence there was scarcely an elementary fact or axiom in geography, or astronomy, or political economy, or indeed in any modern science, which did

not clash with and demolish some time-honoured belief, or sacred and hallowed observance. The work of destruction required no genius, learning, or eloquence ; Hinduism fell prostrate, never to rise again, at the touch of the veriest school-boy. As soon as a little fellow could be made to understand that the earth was 25,000 miles round, there was an end to his belief in the Shastras.

It must be remembered that the young Bengali is remarkably intelligent and curious ;—we might say with truth, precociously so. His first glimpse into the science and knowledge of the Western world filled him with astonishment and delight. A new El Dorado spread before him ; and his foot was on the strand. A new future was open to him ; new faculties were developed within him ; and all, that he heard and saw, carried with it self-evidencing truth and power. Scales seemed to have fallen from his eyes ; he felt giddy and intoxicated with the changed appearance of all things. But, if there was one feeling stronger than all others, and which, for a time, reigned predominant, it was a passionate loathing, a mixture of hatred and contempt and indignation, against the superstition, in which he had been brought up. When he thought of the absurdities he had been led to believe ; of the pain and misery he had been compelled to bear and to inflict ; of the clay and wooden images and rabble of so-called deities whom he had worshipped ; of the ignorance in which he had been kept ; and its results in making every other Hindu a mere beast of burden for the Brahman ; and when he looked at all in the light of his new-found knowledge, he blushed with shame and indignation, and felt that he had been injured, humiliated, and degraded.

The master-spirit of this new era was Mr. Derozio. This gifted young man entered the college as one of the junior teachers in November, 1826, and speedily acquired an unbounded influence and popularity among the students. He entered into their feelings with all the fervour and enthusiasm of his own highly poetic temperament, and spared no pains to fan and to feed the flame. He encouraged them to the most unbridled use of their new-found mental freedom ; and, by an extraordinary ascendancy over their minds, which no other man ever attained, he transformed the supple and timid Bengali into a bold and fiery iconoclast and reformer.

Unfortunately for himself and for them, he had no fixed principles ; and his chief delight was to speculate, to unsettle, and to attack. Had he lived, and had his mind worked itself clear (as it had begun to do) of the crude notions of his youth,

great things might have been expected from him. As it was, he was, for a time, the oracle of Young Bengal; and he has found no successor in their affections.

\* It would be unjust to pass over unnoticed another East Indian gentleman, connected with the college about the same time, and who has also, since, gone to his account—we mean Mr. Woollaston, afterwards a Missionary of the London Society. He was a man of a quiet, unostentatious character, who felt the warmest interest in the new movement, but looked upon it with the heart and with the eye of a Christian. It was his delight to gather the more intelligent students round the social tea-table in his own house, and, without forcing it upon them, to talk to them earnestly and calmly of the Gospel of Jesus. One or other of the Missionaries was sometimes of the party; and the retrospect, we believe, must be pleasant to all.\*

It is not strange that youthful minds, from which had evaporated every particle of faith and reverence for all that they once held most sacred, and who looked upon their former condition with rage and contempt, should wander for a while without star or compass, and hold aloof from every thing that could not be made palpable to their senses, or proved by mathematical demonstration. It is not strange, that in the first rebound of indignation, the very names of "priest" and religion should have been a bugbear, and their notions of the social relations uncertain and confused. Unfortunately, instead of checking these feelings, or guiding them into wholesome channels, Mr. Derozio gave them the rein. Every thing became debateable, and was debated. The being of God, the parental relationship, the ties of consanguinity, were subjected to the crucible of these youthful and giddy brains: and too often little came forth, but pride and over-weaving conceit, and open contempt for parents and relatives, who believed in Sumeru and the seven oceans, who drank the washings of Brahmans' feet, and worshipped Kali and Durga. But along with this, there was a generous desire to impart their new knowledge to their youthful countrymen; and the lads, who, during the day, attended the college prelections, got up early to teach gratuitous morning schools, and spent their evenings in social conversational meetings.

The fire, which had been fast gaining strength, broke out into flame in the year 1829. In the swarm of debating societies,

\* We are indebted to the materials, collected by this gentleman, and published in the early numbers of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, for nearly all the details in the preceding sketch.

that sprang up, there was one universal execration of Hinduism. The native town rang with glowing declamations on the pleasures and advantages of European knowledge. The young Babus demanded that its blessings should be extended to their wives and daughters, and lost no occasion, when they met together, of expressing their scorn and detestation of the superstitious practices of their fathers.

It will be observed, that, up to this time, the Hindu College had the field to itself, and was left, free and untrammelled, to produce its natural fruits. There were no rival Missionary schools; and with the Missionaries themselves, at that time, the students could not be said to have ever come into contact. Indeed, their dislike of Christianity was second only to their dislike of Hinduism. The influence of the Europeans, whom they looked up to with most respect, was decidedly Anti-Christian. The Wilsons, the Sutherlands, and the Youngs, were known to be latitudinarians in religion—if not something more; while Mr. Hare, and their idol, Derozio, with not a few of his more intimate friends and associates, were avowedly (for the time at least) disbelievers in the Christian revelation. We have heard of scandalous orgies, where the most sacred mysteries and persons in the Gospels were parodied and blasphemed by English gentlemen for the amusement of the young Hindus; and, it is notorious, that their notions of the religion of Jesus were drawn chiefly from Paine's *Age of Reason*, and the pages of Gibbon and Hume.

We have a right, therefore, to ask those gentlemen, who condemn, in the most sweeping terms, the Missionary institutions, on the ground of their interfering with the rights of parents, while they insist that no such charge lies against the Government schools and colleges, to point out *any* period, in the history of Christian Missions, or of British intercourse with India, when faith in the religion of their fathers was more thoroughly destroyed in the minds of the children—when the rights (as they choose to call them) of the parents, were more deliberately denied and disregarded—or when there was more of hostile alienation in families—than were seen in the year 1829, as the results of the Hindu College teaching.

It will not do to throw all the blame on Mr. Derozio, and to make him the scape-goat for what was, undoubtedly, the direct and natural effect of the Government system—what, indeed, it ought to be, and what, in a less worthy form, it continues to be, till the present hour. There is not one in a thousand of the educated Bengalis, who believes, or pretends to himself to believe, in Hinduism; and, if the modicum of morality and natural religion, which they are supposed to acquire, does *not* teach

them to abhor human sacrifice, and *sutti*, and child-murder—to protest against the social and intellectual degradation of the Sudras—to look upon its present foul idolatry as the bane of their country, and to feel that it should be their glory and their privilege to rid themselves and their posterity for ever of this vast mass of ignorance and evil—then, surely, it is the most miserable and the most worthless thing that ever was doled out, under the imposing name of national education. The truth is, that though the educated native is tamer and quieter now, he does not believe a whit more in the superstition of his fathers; and we cannot but look upon it as one of the worst symptoms of the moral degradation, to which the nation is reduced, that the first spirit is extinct, and that the Young Bengal of the present day has no heart to pity, and no hand to help or to remove the evils of his country. His greatest exploit is a stolen visit to the tavern, or the *restaurateur*; and the chief notoriety he has of late obtained is, by aping the vices of the European. There is, indeed, a small class of thoughtful and accomplished young men, who seem to be on the way to better things; but they want the boldness and energy of their more out-spoken predecessors; and this great idolatrous land cares little for accomplishments and amiabilities: she wants patriots, reformers, and active philanthropists.

In the alarm caused by the new spirit, which, through the instrumentality of the morning schools, was spreading far and fast amongst the rising generation, native society looked to the Managers to check it, or to put it down. But the Managers were at their wit's end; and their measures were at once feeble, intolerant, and stupid.

The first was the following order:—

It having come to the knowledge of the Managers, that a belief prevails very generally, that the students of the Hindu College are liable to lose all religious principles whatever;

It was resolved, that Mr. D'Anselme (the head master) be requested, in communication with the teachers, to check, as far as possible, all disquisitions tending to unsettle the belief of the boys in the great principles of natural religion.

This ill-written and absurd production had, of course, not the slightest effect. It did not even look the real difficulty in the face. "The belief of the boys in the great principles of natural religion," was a mere flourish; for the Hindu youth has no such belief. He will indeed assent in general terms to the existence of one God, and of a future state of recompense: but the slightest inquiry will show that he has no true, or rational notion of either. Hinduism is the perversion, or rather the antagonist, of natural religion. Instead of one wise intelligent

and holy God, the Creator and Governor of the universe, it sets up three hundred and thirty millions of capricious, impure, and bloody demons, at variance with each other, and stained with every crime—whose favour is to be won, not by goodness and virtue, but by senseless and degrading, or cruel and revolting practices. It denies the brotherhood of man, breaks down the boundaries between right and wrong, which God has set up within us, and throws additional darkness over the future. The truth is, it was the Hindu craft that was in danger; and the native community has since shown again and again, that a man may be Deist, or Atheist, or any thing he likes, without exciting alarm or opposition, if he will only so far conform in externals as to satisfy the fast relaxing requirements of caste. We have never yet seen a Hindu parent, who viewed the conversion of his child to a new faith, with any deeper or higher feelings, than simply as a disgrace to the family.

The foolish half-measure of the Managers only made the lads bolder. A few spirited young Brahmans refused, or flung off, the thread of their order; others composed parodies on the *mantras*; and their declamations against Hinduism became more and more open, scornful and insulting. The parents also began to withdraw their children from the institution. The result was, that the Management was forced into plainer speaking: and the following more stringent order was published in February, 1830:—

The teachers are particularly enjoined to abstain from any communications on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys, or to suffer any practices inconsistent with the Hindu notions of propriety, such as eating or drinking in the school or class rooms. Any deviation from this injunction will be reported by Mr. D'Anselme to the *Visitor*, immediately, and, should it appear that the teacher is at all culpable, he will, forthwith, be dismissed.

It must be confessed that these unfortunate Managers were in a situation of no ordinary perplexity. That, which their orders strove to prop up, their system undermined and overthrew; and here the fatal admission is made, that Hinduism is not fit to be handled, or to be made the subject of "any" communication between an enlightened teacher and his pupils. There was but one measure that could avert the impending doom of the Hindu religion: to burn their school-books, dismiss their teachers, break up the establishment, return to the good old times of ignorance and Menú—and drive the English into the sea! But while laughing at the folly, we must not forget the injustice and intolerance, of the bewildered Babus. At a time of unexampled excitement, and where, with something of the extravagance, there was much of the keen inquiry and gene-

rous ardour of youthful enthusiasm—while the suti pile still smoked, and the swing went round, and the blood flowed freely to propitiate Kali, and in the immediate presence of all the senseless and revolting, and degrading practices of idolatry—the teacher was ordered, under pain of immediate dismissal, not only to be silent, but, even if asked, to express no opinion. We may imagine the high-spirited Derozio, with his ardent and sensitive temperament, returning from the cold-blooded murder of some innocent young girl; and, while the shriek, that rose out of the flames, still rung on his ears, and a group of his young native friends, trembling with horror and indignation, gathered round him, eagerly asking, what his thoughts were—replying, with cold precision, “Expect no expression of ‘opinion from me: the Babus in the Management have forbidden it!”

The most painful circumstance, however, connected with this odious and senseless tyranny, is the fact, that Professor Wilson, the visitor, should have lent to it the sanction of his name, and publicly avowed himself to be ready both to approve and to inflict a sentence, which was disgraceful even to Calcutta Babus of the old régime. But, as we have already said, this distinguished scholar was but a cold friend to Anglo-Bengali education.

In spite of brow-beating and opposition, however, the rising spirit could not be repressed. Other circumstances also, to which we shall afterwards advert, arose to increase the perplexity of the Managers, and the alarm of the native community. An incident, slight in itself, brought matters to a crisis. In 1831, a few of the more advanced students met together (as was their custom) in the family house of Krishna Mohana Banerjya, for friendly conversation and discussion. Mr. Banerjya was, at this time, the leader of the new school; and all the violence of pure unadulterated Hindu bigotry was directed chiefly against him. He was abused, as only a Bengali tongue, or a Bengali pen, can abuse; he was threatened with loss of caste; his own relatives were set against him; and slanders and calumny of the vilest description were systematically and unspareingly made use of. Unfortunately, on that particular evening, he happened not to be at home; and his friends thought that the best way of amusing themselves during his absence, and at the same time gratifying their curiosity in regard to the forbidden food of Europe, was by sending for a dish of roast-beef to a cook-shop. The beef was sent for, and eaten; and one of the lads, in a moment of boyish levity, had the folly and imprudence to fling some of the fragments into the inner court of a Brahman

neighbour; at the same time, shouting to the horrified inmates, "Beef! Beef!"

The Brahman, roused to fury by the outrage, gathering together his dependents and servants, and, breaking into Mr. Banerjya's house, to which, in the mean time, he himself had returned, gave the lads a sound and well-merited beating. But the affair did not end here. No apology would be listened to. A deaf ear was turned to their professions of regret and contrition. A crowd assembled, and compelled his family to demand from Mr. Banerjya an instant recantation of his new opinions, and a profession of faith in Hinduism; or, on the moment, expulsion from his home, and from caste itself. He chose the latter; and accordingly, late at night, he was driven out from his own home, "not knowing where to lay his head." He escaped, with some difficulty, out of the hands of the rabble, and took refuge in the house of a friend. At this time, he had neither faith nor hope; and the great mental excitement, and sudden and violent severance from the bosom of his family, threw him into a fever, and drove him almost distracted.

The news of this outrage on the national faith spread like wild fire, and certainly lost nothing in the telling. More than a hundred students were removed from the college.

The Managers once more met in conclave, and, this time, not only threatened, but struck. The blow fell chiefly on Mr. Derozio. He was dismissed without a hearing. Mr. Wilson and Mr. Hare declined voting; although the former declared Mr. Derozio to be a teacher of superior ability, denied the truth of the charge brought against him, and expressed the deepest regret, that the college was to be deprived of his valuable services. One Babu voted for his retention: but six voted for his dismissal; and the best teacher they had, was turned off on a day's warning, and without being allowed to say a single word in his own defence.

The measures, proposed by the Managers for allaying the popular ferment, as we find them stated by Mr. Woollaston, were the following:—

1. That Mr. Derozio, being the root of all evils, and cause of public alarm, should be discharged from the college; and all communications between him and the pupils be cut off.
2. That such of the students of the higher class, whose bad habits and practices are known, and who were in THE DINING PARTY, should be removed.
3. That all those students, who are *publicly* hostile to Hinduism, and the established customs of the country, and who have proved themselves, as such, (*sic*) by their conduct, should be turned out.
4. That the boys should not be admitted indiscriminately, without previous inquiry regarding their character.

5. That whenever Europeans (teachers ?) are procurable, a preference shall be given to them in future; their character and religion (?) being ascertained before admission.

6. That if any of the boys go to see, or attend private lectures or meetings, they be dismissed.

The last two (the 7th and 8th) forbid the introduction of improper or immoral books into the class rooms, and appoint one particular room for the masters to eat in.

With the exception of the 6th, all these proposed resolutions were more or less strictly carried into effect. But, ere we notice the discussion on the principle involved in the 6th resolution, we must go back a little to another part of the field, where new actors appear on the scene.

The great and startling success of the Hindu College attracted many eyes; and none, with greater interest, than those of the friends and supporters of Missions. It was evident that a new door of access had been opened into the native mind. The college of Serampore and Bishop's College were the first steps, on the part of the Christian community, to take advantage of the new opening: but the former was too remote, at that time, from the centre of influence; and the latter was too exclusively sectarian, and too narrow in its basis, to have any thing in common with a popular movement. In the mean time, while the Church of England and the Baptists were breaking ground, the Presbyterians had not been idle. In 1823, the Rev. Dr. Bryce memorialized the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland on the duty of sending Missionaries to India—not, indeed, to teach, but to preach to the educated natives. In 1825, the Assembly agreed to establish a Central Seminary of education, with branch schools in the surrounding district, and to recommend to the head master, who was to be a regularly ordained clergyman, to give lectures, distribute fitting tracts, and use every effort to cultivate acquaintance with intelligent and educated natives.

The Church of Scotland was even more fortunate in her choice, than the Government had been in the case of Mr. Wilson. The lustre of every other name, connected with native education, pales before that of Duff; and the General Assembly's school, opened by him in 1830, soon rivalled, and speedily eclipsed, the popularity of the Hindu College itself. His vast stores of information, his splendid oratorical powers, his ready and astonishing argumentative resources, the warmth and kindness of his manner, his happy gift in teaching of seizing the attention and impressing the minds of the very youngest, and, above all, the manifest fact, that his whole soul was in his work, in a very short time, won for him a reputation, both native and

European, which has gone on increasing to this day. By sheer dint of good teaching, the school won its way into public favor. The natives forgot or sacrificed their fears and prejudices ; and Calcutta can now show the surprising spectacle of nearly 4,000 youths, sent by their Heathen parents, freely and of their own accord, to be taught in Christian institutions, the avowed design of which is proselytizing.

The first attempt to direct the minds of these ardent and generous, but misguided, young men into a more wholesome channel, was made in the year 1830. A series of lectures on the evidences and doctrines of Christianity was announced. The lectures were to be addressed to the educated Hindus in the English language. They were to be delivered in the house of Dr. Duff, which was very convenient for the purpose, being situated in College square, nearly opposite the Hindu College. The lecturers were to be Mr. Dealytry (now Bishop of Madras) ; Mr. James Hill, now of Oxford ; the late Mr. John Adam ; and Dr. Duff. It was agreed on the part of the young men that the lecture for the evening was to be listened to without interruption ; but that any one should be at liberty, after its close, to ask questions, or to state objections ; and that all, if they pleased, might then take part in the discussion. Even thus much was not obtained without much difficulty and opposition, and was only granted as a boon to the lecturers ; for, whatever might be the virtues of "Young Bengal," modesty, at this time, was certainly not of the number. They looked upon Christianity as but a more refined system of superstition, and upon the Missionaries as cunning impostors, or ignorant fanatics—the Brahmans in short of the Europeans—and, in freedom of thought and intellectual acquirements, as far inferior to themselves ; and when they did consent at last to listen to these men, it was more with the view of giving, than of receiving, instruction.

The Managers, however, and the Hindu community, saw the matter in a very different light. One of those inexplicable panics arose, which confuse the firmest judgment. It was believed, that the young men were to be driven by force into Christianity ; and that the lectures were but the commencement of a scheme, of which the Government itself was at the bottom, for bringing coercive measures to bear upon the whole body of the people. One lecture, introductory to the course, was delivered by Mr. Hill, in August, 1830 ; and, in spite of the authority and entreaties of their relatives, and the alarm and exasperation of the native community, a considerable number of young men ventured to be present.

In their indignation and alarm, the Managers issued the famous order, which, though successful so far as the immediate object was concerned, did more to enlist the sympathies of the students on the side of the Missionaries, than any measure that they themselves could have devised.

It ran as follows :—

The Managers of the Anglo-Indian College having heard, that several of the students are in the habit of attending societies, at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice, *and to prohibit its continuance*. Any student, being present at such a society, after the promulgation of this order, will incur their displeasure.

It was evident, that the Managers had no right whatever, to dictate to the students, how their time was to be disposed of out of school-hours, and that the threat of punishment was at once tyrannical and absurd. There was, indeed, something more than ordinarily ridiculous, in seeing half-a-dozen fat bigotted Babus girding themselves for the task of turning back the tide of European knowledge, and setting about it, with as much zeal and bustle, as the worthy Mrs. Partington in her celebrated attempt to thrust back the Atlantic with her mop. Their intolerance drew upon them a storm of censure from all the English journals ; the more spirited of the students treated it with contempt ; and, some months after, when the subject came again before them on the dismissal of Mr. Derozio, the Managers were compelled “to eat their own words,” and, with their usual lack of grammar, to recall the obnoxious order.

Their recantation was expressed in the following terms :— “Resolved, that the Managers have not the power, nor the right, ‘to enforce the prohibition of the boys’ attending private lectures, or meetings.’”

At the time, however, and in the face of the direct prohibition of the Management, the lecturers did not feel themselves justified in going further ; the lectures were immediately discontinued, and, in their original shape, never resumed.

But the unfortunate Babus had little reason to congratulate themselves on the success, which they had achieved. Not only did the debating societies increase in number and boldness ; but the indignant students had recourse to the mighty machinery of the press. Three new journals appeared ; two in English, and one in Bengali. The *Reformer* advocated the views held by Rammohun Roy’s party ; the *Enquirer*, an English paper, edited by Mr. Banerjya, and the *Gyananeshun*, in Bengali, represented Young Bengal. With much youthful extravagance of language and sentiment, they were all conducted with con-

siderable spirit and talent.' They attacked every thing ; but chiefly the follies and abominations of Hinduism, which they exposed with unction, and held up to public execration and contempt.

In the mean time, Dr. Duff had been employed, with his usual sagacity and tact, in making himself acquainted with that phase of human nature, with which he had to deal. He read the new journals ; he attended the debating societies ; he courted the society, and seized every opportunity afforded him, of taking the moral and intellectual measure of "Young Bengal." It was not likely, that a man, like him, should be turned from his course by the Management : and, accordingly, ere the first effervescence had passed away, a new series of lectures was announced, conducted by himself, and on his own responsibility. Perhaps, another name would be more suitable than lectures ; for, so convinced were the young men of their perfect equality with him at the very least, that it was stipulated that they should meet simply as friends to discuss and to compare opinions, and that *two* chairmen should preside, one appointed on Dr. Duff's side, and the other on theirs.

In these meetings, Dr. Duff stood forth as a champion, who had thrown down his glove to all comers, and who was ready to meet them, at a moment's notice, on any point they chose to select. And there gathered round him Europeans, East Indians, and Hindus, Athiests, Unitarians, Vedantists, Idolators, and men of no faith at all. He had to encounter insolence, rudeness, and levity. He had to answer, on the spur of the moment, every sophism, that the memory or the imagination of his hearers could suggest. We have, ourselves, heard the lie given to him deliberately under his own roof ; and accusations of ignorance, stupidity and fanaticism flung at his head, publicly, by a shallow Hindu lad. But he never lost his temper, or his argument ; gradually he baffled, or silenced, or convinced all his opponents ; and, ere a year had passed, he had the satisfaction of seeing the ablest and the boldest of them all converts to the faith of Jesus.

It is now time to return to Mr. Banerjya. We left him, an outcast from his family, more than ever embittered and exasperated against Hinduism, regardless of God, and without hope for the future. The sole object, for which he now laboured, was (what he called) the reformation of his country ; and he proposed to accomplish it, by waging a war of extermination against the evils and superstitions of his ancestral faith. It was in this temper of mind, that Dr. Duff found him ; and he succeeded, after repeated conversations, in convincing him,

that the mere destroyer can never be a reformer ; and that the proper and fitting duty of the true patriot and philanthropist is to re-build, rather than to pull down. The deeply interesting story of this gentleman's gradual conviction and baptism in 1832, and of other conversions scarcely less interesting, will be found fully detailed in Dr. Duff's well-known work on *India, and India Missions*. It is therefore unnecessary to dwell longer upon it in these pages.

The progress (if so it may be called) of Young Bengal, since that time, will scarcely occupy a sentence. Long before he became a Christian, and while he was yet at the head of the movement, Mr. Banerjya wrote thus of his associates :—

To oppose the machination of a whole set of people ; to bear the threats of zealots with indifference, to withstand the attacks of fanatics and hypocrites, are acts that presuppose a considerable degree of fortitude.—and this is a virtue very unequally gifted by nature. It will not, in consequence, be surprising, if some of our friends, who have been refined by knowledge, and enlightened by education, be dismayed at the excitement of the bigots. This fear may lead to very serious evils. Observing the worldly inconveniences to which liberalism is subject, persons may very naturally be induced to be inconsistent in their principles and actions. "Blowing hot and cold with the same mouth" will be the consequence. Professions and feelings will not be reconciled with each other, and every misfortune, to which hypocrisy—and that is a bad cause—gives birth, will befall the (educated) natives."—*Enquirer Newspaper*.

These words were prophetic. Deprived of their boldest spirits, Young Bengal lost life, heart, and energy. The educated native of the present day, with very few exceptions, vegetates without faith or object ; he is either a hypocrite, or a latitudinarian ; and all has for a time, at least, subsided into a dull, tame, discouraging mediocrity.

All this while the General Assembly's school, in the Chitpore Road, had been growing in public favour and reputation ; and branch schools began to shoot off from it. The "intellectual" system of teaching, transferred from the Edinburgh Sessional school, was there introduced for the first time into Bengal, and exhibited, in all its freshness and novelty, to the Calcutta public. But, perhaps, the most telling characteristic of that institution, apart from its more direct objects of conversion, and the preparation of a thoroughly educated native ministry, was its success in training teachers, who had drunk in the spirit of the system. Demands for such multiplied from all quarters. They were applied for, as private tutors to native princes ; as teachers for other schools, and (a little later) for Government institutions ; nay, in more than one instance, gentlemen in the Civil Service took them, while still conforming Heathens, into their families to teach

their Christian children. At the time, when Lord Wm. Bentinck's (or rather Mr. Trevelyan's) celebrated Minute appeared, it was, to a teacher (Mr. Clift) from the General Assembly's Institution, that the Government committed that *experimentum crucis*—its first Mofussil school; and from a Normal school, to be gathered chiefly from the General Assembly's Institution, and to be entrusted to the General Assembly's Missionaries, Mr. Trevelyan proposed to supply teachers for the new Anglo-Vernacular schools, which the Government were about to establish. It won the praise of Lord William Bentinck, and was visited by Lord Auckland and his sisters; but it owed nothing to their patronage or favour. It had won its way long before to that public estimation, which attracted their notice, in spite of its openly avowed proselytizing character; and, at the period when Mr. Kerr's book opens, the place, which it occupied in the field of native education, was indisputably the first.

Having thus briefly and imperfectly sketched the origin of the present system of native education, and its progress, for the first twenty years, it will naturally be asked, what was the Government doing, during a period, pregnant with the future destinies of Eastern empire? We shall let Mr. Kerr answer this question:—

Previous to 1835, all the larger educational establishments supported by Government, with the exception of the Hindu College of Calcutta, were decidedly oriental in character. The medium of instruction was oriental. The mode of instruction was oriental. The whole scope of the instruction was oriental, designed to conciliate old prejudices and to propagate old ideas. The object of the Committee entrusted with the superintendence of education, was chiefly to encourage the cultivation of Sanscrit and Arabic, the classical languages of the Hindus and Mahomedans. It is true some slight improvements were attempted. English schools were attached to the colleges at Delhi and Benares. An English class was formed in the Calcutta Madressa and in the Calcutta Sanscrit College. In a few instances, new subjects of instruction were introduced, as Geography, Astronomy, Geometry and Anatomy. But these attempts were all on a small scale.

In connection with this leading object of encouraging the cultivation of Sanscrit and Arabic, an overflowing patronage was extended to the publication of works in these ancient languages. Translators were engaged on very liberal terms. In one instance, 32,000 rupees were set apart for translating a single work into Arabic.\* Then, much money was spent in printing operations, and in providing a capacious depository for these oriental folios, for which, when printed, there was little or no demand.

Another favourite principle was to provide stipends for the maintenance of the students, who attended the Oriental Colleges. In 1834, the year before the system was abolished, 388 students attended the Delhi College.

\* If the translation happened to be unintelligible, it was sometimes proposed to engage the translator "on a liberal salary," to explain it!—*Trevelyan on Education in India.*

Of these, 359 received stipends, and only 29 were non-stipendiary. The proportion of stipendiary to non-stipendiary students was nearly the same in the other colleges. To receive a stipend was the general rule; to be without it the rare exception.

The payment of professors and teachers of the oriental languages, the expenses attending extensive printing operations, the profuse and indiscriminate gift of stipends, absorbed all the funds at the disposal of Government for educational purposes. There was not the means, even if there had been the desire, to encourage the cultivation of English, and the diffusion among the people of really useful knowledge. But about this time, views began to be canvassed in the Educational Committee, unsavourable to the exclusively oriental principle of action. To those, who were not thoroughly wedded to orientalism, it could not but appear that the plans hitherto pursued had been wholly unfruitful. They had produced no impression on the public mind, no improvement whatever in native modes of thinking. The loads of learned lumber in the oriental languages, under which the shelves of the Committee's book depository groaned, were unsaleable. On the other hand, English publications were in demand. A taste was spreading all around for instruction in English. The Hindu College of Calcutta, which had been founded several years before by a spontaneous impulse of the native mind, and in which the medium of instruction was English, and the subjects of instruction English literature and science, was prospering beyond all expectation. Young men from the best families of the city attended it in great numbers, attracted not by the hope of stipends, of which there were very few, but by the more laudable ambition of increasing their social respectability, and, in some cases, we may venture to suppose, by a pure love of knowledge.

Influenced by these considerations, and others which need not be mentioned here,\* the Government determined to change its system.—pp. 5, 6.

This is a lively and well-written account of a state of things which, though separated from us, by an interval of only seventeen years, appears already ante-diluvian. It contains, as we have already seen, one or two mistakes on points, which did not come under Mr. Kerr's personal observation. The Hindu College did not arise from a spontaneous impulse of the native mind; and, in 1835, Dr. Duff had been looked upon for years as the *Coryphaeus* of native education. In the clever and animated controversy, to which Mr. Kerr alludes, and in which Dr. Tytler fought manfully the desperate battle of the Orientalists, the happiest hits of the humour, and no slight portion of the gall, were directed against the new firm (as it was called) of Duff, Trevelyan, "and Co"—and to the somewhat startling project imputed to them, of not only extirpating the native alphabets, but of Romanizing the English language. The controversy, however, though it was conducted with much warmth and excited strong passions, was only a *paper* controversy. The battle had been already fought and won: and Lord William Bentinck's Minute was but a bulletin of the victory. This

\* See Trevelyan on Education in India.

celebrated document is dated March 7th, 1835, and runs as follows:—

His Lordship in Council is of opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science amongst the natives of India, and that all the funds appropriated for the purposes of education would be best employed on English education alone.

It is not the intention of his Lordship to abolish any college or school of native learning, while the population shall appear to be inclined to avail themselves of the advantages it affords.

His Lordship in Council decidedly objects to the practice which has hitherto prevailed, of supporting the students during the period of their education. He conceives that the only effect of such a system can be to give artificial encouragement to branches of learning, which, in the natural course of things, would be superseded by more useful studies ; and he directs that no stipend shall be given to any student, who may hereafter enter at any of these institutions ; and that when any Professor of oriental learning shall vacate his situation, the Committee shall report to the Government the number and state of the class, in order that the Government may be able to decide upon the expediency of appointing a successor.

It has come to the knowledge of his Lordship in Council that a large sum has been expended by the Committee in the printing of oriental works. His Lordship in Council directs that no portion of the funds shall hereafter be so employed.

His Lordship in Council directs that all the funds, which these reforms will leave at the disposal of the Committee, be henceforth employed in imparting to the native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of the English language.

As soon as it was promulgated, Mr. Shakespeare, the President of the Educational Committee, and "a staunch Orientalist," resigned ; and Mr. Macaulay succeeded him. For the next four or five years, the new principles were vigorously carried out ; but there appeared to be some danger of confounding oriental education, as taught in the Government Institutions, with education through the Vernacular languages. We cannot do better than borrow Mr. Kerr's very clear and distinct explanation of the difficulty :—

At an early stage of the proceedings of the new Committee, great misapprehension existed in various quarters in regard to the extent to which the Vernacular languages were to be taught in the Government seminaries. Some were of opinion that, according to the most obvious interpretation of the Government resolution, the Vernacular languages were entirely excluded, and all the funds were strictly to be employed "on English education alone." The General Committee promptly corrected this error. The following clear statement of their views was published in the annual report for 1835. "The General Committee are deeply sensible of the importance of encouraging the cultivation of the Vernacular languages. They do not conceive that the order of the 7th of March precludes this ; and they have constantly acted on this construction. In the discussions, which preceded that order, the claims of the Vernacular languages were broadly and prominently admitted by all parties ; and the question, submitted for the decision of Government, only concerned the relative advantage of teaching English

on the one side and *the learned* eastern languages on the other." "It was added that the phrases, "English education," "English literature and science," were not set up in opposition to Vernacular education, but in opposition to oriental learning taught through the medium of Sanscrit and Arabic.\*

The General Committee also took occasion to explain, at this early period, that in advocating English as the best medium of instruction, they had in view those classes only of the community, who had means and leisure for obtaining a thorough education; and that no rule was prescribed as to the medium through which "such instruction as the mass of the people are capable of receiving," is to be conveyed. It appears to have been clearly their opinion that, when the object is merely an elementary education, it may be most easily imparted to the natives in their own language.

The practice of the Educational Committee has all along corresponded with these views. Teachers of the Vernacular language were appointed to all the institutions, and no opportunity was neglected of urging upon the local Committee the necessity for its due cultivation. An opportunity will occur hereafter of explaining more particularly in what way, and to what extent, this object has been carried out.

The period, that followed, was one of long and dismal collapse. Lord Auckland's Minute was well meant, and, for the most part, sensible and judicious; but what movement it gave, if any, was movement in the wrong direction. The succeeding administrations of Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge, and the present Governor-General, have been almost exclusively military and political. The solitary exception is the merit-fostering resolution of Lord Hardinge, dated 10th October, 1844, which has already been fully discussed in our pages. We look upon that document as bearing honourable testimony to the impartiality, and large-hearted benevolence of the noble Lord, to his clear appreciation of the importance of education, and to his desire of extending its advantages to the utmost: but we agree with Mr. Kerr, that it exhibits little of the wisdom or foresight of the statesman, and could scarcely fail to be inoperative. It will be remembered in after times, chiefly for the petty and sectarian spirit, in which the Council of Education impeded its working, and for its injurious tendency to originate and to foster the odious system of "cramming" for the public examinations. We subjoin Mr. Kerr's sketch of this period of stagnation:—

In the sketch, which has been given of the main features that distinguish the system of Government education in this part of India, no subject stands out so prominently as that of the medium to be chosen for communicating instruction. It has been seen that, previous to 1835, when Lord Bentinck's Resolution was published, English met with very little favour as a medium of instruction. All the encouragement the Government could

\* To those who have been in India, or who are tolerably acquainted with its history, it is not necessary to mention that Sanscrit and Arabic are no more Vernacular or spoken languages in India, than Greek and Hebrew are in England. The Vernacular, or spoken languages, are Bengali, Hindustani, &c.

spare was bestowed on Sanscrit and Arabic, with the exception of some occasional and desultory efforts for promoting education by means of the Vernacular languages. When Lord Bentinck's resolution was promulgated, English rose at once into the ascendant. There seemed to be some probability of its not only overshadowing the learned oriental languages, a consummation scarcely to be regretted, but of its over-shadowing and pushing from its place the Vernacular tongue likewise. A reaction soon took place, Lord Auckland restored "a measured degree of encouragement" to the Oriental languages, and gave greater clearness to the idea that the Vernacular languages, so soon as a sufficient number of good Vernacular class books had been prepared, must be mainly relied on in any wide system of national education, having, for its object, the improvement of the great mass of the population. Since that time, the plan of combined instruction in English and the Vernacular language, has been steadily extending in the colleges, with one or two exceptions,\* both of the Upper and Lower Provinces, and in the provincial schools of the latter. In all these cases, success has justified the system. But in the provincial schools of the more remote districts of the North West, and in the outlying districts of Assam and Arracan, the results of combined instruction in English and Vernacular have been less favourable. In these localities, we look in vain for that growth and expansion, which would be the best proof of the system being "in unison with the feelings," and adapted to the wants of the people. Accordingly, in these places, the system has undergone a radical change. English has, generally speaking, been relinquished as the medium of popular instruction, and the Vernacular language has taken its place — pp. 19, 20.

During this period, we must not be supposed to mean that there was any falling off in the amount of work done, or of knowledge imparted. On the contrary, the teaching was decidedly more efficient; men of higher character and attainments were employed in the service; and the standard of literary and scientific attainment was raised very greatly. With the system, as it now stands, we may fairly question, whether fitter men — men of a better spirit, higher talents, or nobler and loftier aims — than the late President of the Council of Education, and its present excellent and zealous Secretary, could be found in all India to preside over it. In all scholastic acquirements, the students of the present day are far in advance of their predecessors; indeed (as has been proved by experience) they are fully competent to hold their own with any class of young men in England, out of the great universities.

Nevertheless, it remains a notorious and ominous truth, that the great majority of these young men, solidly and thoroughly educated in all secular knowledge, show no patriotism or public spirit, no hatred of idolatry, no anxiety to rescue their fellow-countrymen from its yoke, no lofty moral bearing,

\* English has not gained much ground in the Calcutta Madressa, the Calcutta Sanscrit College, the Hugli Madressa, or in the Sanscrit College at Benares. The Oriental element has hitherto successfully resisted improvement in these institutions, which remain almost unchanged — neither better nor worse, but stationary.

the result of education, the consciousness of which is the result of inquiry after religious truth. In the flush of youth, the great majority, tie the conscience by outward compliance with the ideology which they despise, or by making themselves over deliberately to worldliness. There is nothing of healthy life connected with their intellectual activity.

It is not difficult to predict their future. A small class of thinkers will be formed, like that of the Greek and Roman philosophers, and equally powerless and purposeless, as regards national reform or regeneration. A portion of this class will unite themselves to the Neo-Vedantists; the remainder, floating at random on the sea of speculation, will conform to the Hindu superstition. But the greater body, dissolute and worldly, are but too surely tending to a state morally lower than that from which education rescued them. The Hindu idolator from conviction may have faith, zeal, and honesty. He may be thoroughly conscientious, and ready to lay down life and limb, and to sacrifice all that he holds most dear, in a fervent, though misguided, devotion. But the mongrel class, of whom we now write, too timid to break off from what they despise and disbelieve, will live the subtle faithless life of the Greek of the Lower Empire, without courage or consciousness, and hide, but too often, the heart of the atheist under the robes of the idolator. Hinduism has nothing to fear from the educated natives. Her philosophers and men of science, in former times, were as thoroughly unbelievers in the vulgar superstition, as the educated natives of the present day: and ancient European Heathenism had its Socrates, and Plato, and Cicero, and Plutarch, and Lucian, who attacked, and dismoured, and ridiculed their ancestral faith—conforming all the while. But Europe might be worshipping Japiter and Juno, and Odin and Freya, at this day, had not a new faith sprung up, and other and more effectual opponents. It will be the same, here and elsewhere, again, and again, and still again.

The learning of Europe may pass into the mind of Hindostan, and the task could not be entrusted to better hands than those of many of the able and highly accomplished men, who teach in our Government schools. The science of Europe may come into contact with a new world of "youths" and "youths" of India, and the result may be increase of health and happiness to a very great degree. But Hindostan, of all countries, will be the last to take up the new ideas, and to assimilate them.

infidels, and scoffers, and a populace, ignorant, degraded, and superstitious.

In spite of sniders and cavils (the time for which has all but passed away), it is felt by every thinking man, who calmly examines into this matter by the light of history and experience, that the regeneration of this vast empire and its social and moral deliverance have to be wrought, and will, with the blessing of God, be effected by the labours of the Missionaries, and of those, who are like-minded. The Gospel is the only remedy that can efface the deep-eating brand of Hinduism ; and, where the idol temple is demolished, it is most *necessary*, as well as most desirable, that the Church of Christ should rise in its place. Gradually, and by slow degrees, the most gifted and truth-seeking minds among the Hindu youth will be attracted by the congenial light of the Gospel, and the divine character of Jesus. They will drink in his spirit ; they will take up his cross ; and go forth, with human infirmities and weaknesses, but in the strength of their new born faith, and with the promise and helping hand of God, to proclaim the glad tidings of peace and love, and to preach brotherhood, and goodness, and pardon, and everlasting life, through Christ, the incarnate Redeemer :—and, long after they have passed away from earth, when this vast India shall have become an enlightened Christian nation, they shall have their fame and their reward.

Until the appearance of the second part of Mr. Kerr's book, which will trace the statistics and fortunes of the Government seminaries individually, we shall reserve the consideration of the machinery and details of the system, its unsuccessful Vernacular attempts, and its fitness, apart from religion altogether, to produce any positively beneficial national results.

So far as science and literature are concerned, the progress has been most satisfactory. The Hindu College curriculum of 1832, according to Mr. Woollaston, was the following :—

*Literature.*—Shakespeare ; Milton ; Pope's Homer ; Dryden's Virgil ; Gay's Fables.

*History.*—Introduction to Universal History ; Goldsmith's Historics of Greece, Rome, and England ; Russell's Modern Europe ; Robertson's Charles V., &c.

*Mathematics, &c.*—Simpson's Euclid ; Bonnycastle's Algebra ; Williamson's Arithmetic ; Introduction to Natural Philosophy.

*Geography.*—Goldsmith ; Guy ; Problems on the Globes.

Mr. Kerr's list of the class books now used, shows a most de-

cided and striking advance, which, we believe, may be affirmed as truly in regard to the teaching, as to the things taught :—

COLLEGE DEPARTMENT.

SENIOR CLASSES.

*Literature.*

Milton.  
Shakspeare.  
Bacon's Essays.  
Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*.  
Bacon's *Novum Organum*.

*Moral Philosophy and Logic.*

Smith's *Moral Sentiments*.  
Stewart's *Philosophy of the Mind*.  
Whately's *Logic*.  
Mill's *Logic*.

*History.*

Hume's *England*.  
Mill's *India*.  
Elphinstone's *India*.  
Robertson's *Charles V*.

*Mathematics.*

Potter's *Mechanics*.  
Evan's *three Sections of Newton*.  
Hymer's *Astronomy*.  
Hall's *Differential and Integral Calculus*.

JUNIOR CLASSES.

*|Literature.*

Richardson's *Selections from the English Poets*.  
Addison's *Essays*.  
Goldsmith's *Essays*.

*Moral Philosophy and Logic.*

Abercrombie's *Intellectual Powers*.  
Abercrombie's *Moral Powers*.  
Whately's *Easy Lessons in Reasoning*.

*History.*

Russell's *Modern Europe*.  
Tytler's *Universal History*.

*Mathematics.*

Euclid, six books.  
Hind's *Algebra*.  
Hind's *Trigonometry*.

We now come to the “*quæstio vexata*” of religion. It is handled by Mr. Kerr in an excellent spirit, and with much calmness and temper ; and he certainly makes out a strong case for the present Council of Education. In 1832, it will be observed, there is not a book of any kind on the class list, on morality or

moral science. For 1852, there are three or four; and two of these, as Mr. Kerr justly observes, "wholly Christian in their spirit and tendency." In 1838, the lecturers were required, by the rules of the Hugli College, to be careful to avoid any reference whatever to religion, in giving their lectures. Among the present rules there is no such prohibition. We believe further that a friendly feeling towards the Missionary institutions is fast gaining ground in the Council; and that its late President was not alone in his hope and desire for the Christianization of India, as the best of all possible results. But when Mr. Kerr, warming with the subject, asserts that "in practice, the teacher is left at liberty to speak to his pupils on religion, on Christianity, on the distinct evidences of Christianity, with nearly the same freedom as he might do in a theological seminary" (p. 65), the case involuntarily occurs to us, which Mr. Kerr cannot well have forgotten, of a teacher in the Hindu College, who was forced to quit it, within the last two or three years, for simply answering an ensnaring question, as to the truth of the Christian religion and the comparative merits of Hindu and Christian morality. If, indeed, truth, the Government permits its teachers to speak of Christian doctrines and evidences, as freely as in a theological seminary, there should be no time lost in proclaiming the It will, assuredly, take the world by surprize, and give a new turn to the controversy on national education. news to be "true," to use a vulgar proverb, that "it is too good

Mr. Kerr's views on the great question of introducing religious instruction into the Government institutions are candid and moderate. His conclusion is, that "cannot help wishing it had kept to himself the resolution on which he founds it. We regret also, for his own sake, as on he has gone out of his way unnecessarily to attack that which he does not at all understand, and to defend that which is but too easily assailable. That we may not misrepresent his arguments and opinions, we shall lay them before the reader in his own words:—

The primary design of the Government scheme of education is to advance the progress of civilization in India, by the diffusion of useful knowledge, as the phrase is generally understood. The design of the Missionary institutions is to convert the natives to Christianity. The two objects are distinct, but they are by no means opposed to one another.

But it is said, the Bible is not a class book, the word of God is not honored, in the Government Colleges. This subject is one of peculiar delicacy: and I must entreat the reader to peruse with kindness and forbearance the few remarks, which I have to offer upon it.

There are only, as far as I have observed, two notices of much importance in the annual Reports on the subject of introducing the Bible as a class book. In 1843, Mr H. C. Tucker, who had been deputed by the Lieutenant Governor of the North Western Provinces, to visit some of the schools, reported, among other suggestions which will be noticed in their proper place, that, in his opinion, the Bible ought to be used as a class book. He thought that the means of Christian instruction should be provided; it being left optional with the boys to read the Scriptures or not.

In 1846, Capt. Durand, the Commissioner of Moulmein, proposed that the Bible should be introduced in the schools of that province. The Deputy Governor replied that, "although the objections, which exist on the continent of India to giving a religious character to the educational institutions of Government, may not be so strongly felt there; still, the measure was so directly opposed to the injunctions of the Court of Directors, that he could not, with propriety, give it his sanction."

The question of introducing the Bible as a class book appears to turn upon another question, viz., whether such a measure would be acceptable, or at least not positively unacceptable, to the natives.

All that I have observed from personal intercourse with the students, leads me to believe that the introduction of the Bible, in a quiet and unostentatious manner, would, in the present day, create very little alarm. The more intelligent students would view it with satisfaction, and welcome it as a new means of improvement.

But would not the parents be alarmed and dissatisfied? The parents, if left to themselves, would look on with a feeling of indifference. Few of them would be aware of the change, or feel any interest in it, unless pains were taken to excite their prejudices.

By introducing religious instruction, two objects would be gained, to which the Government might lend its support without being blamed for an undue desire to propagate the Gospel. First, the students would be supplied with the means of forming a correct estimate of the Christian religion, which has exercised such an undeniable influence upon the progress of society. Secondly, the introduction of religious instruction in a suitable manner might be expected to improve the moral character of the students.

While admitting that the Bible might be introduced as a class book, without creating much alarm, and with the happiest effects on the intellectual enlargement and the moral improvement of the students, I am still persuaded that the Government institutions, in their present state, without the Bible, are exercising a very powerful and very beneficial influence on the character of the natives. It has been usual to represent the Government institutions as "Nurseries of Infidelity," and those engaged in the useful office of instruction as doing the work of "Satan." It would perhaps be best to regard this as mere declamation, undeserving of any serious notice. And yet when it is considered that such statements may, by the mere force of repetition, come at length to be seriously believed, it may be well to offer, for the consideration of the reader, one or two observations tending to an opposite conclusion.

In the first place, the efforts of the educational authorities and of those immediately engaged in the business of instruction, are systematically directed towards the object of communicating truth in historical, philosophical and scientific subjects. Are the opponents of the Government system prepared to say that the communication of true knowledge on these subjects has a tendency unsavourable to belief in true Religion? It would be unreasonable to suppose that it has any such tendency.

Secondly, it is stated that we take from the Hindus their own belief, and

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### HISTORY

give them nothing in its place. It is true that the knowledge we communicate, clears the Hindu mind of much that is frivolous and false in their own religious system. But it cannot be admitted that it shakes in the least their belief in those principles, which form the foundation of all religion, such as the existence of God, the greatness and goodness of God, the Providence of God, the probability of a future state of rewards and punishments. So far from these invaluable principles being shaken by our system of education, they are brought into clearer light by it, and belief in them is confirmed. If our system had indeed the effect of depriving the Hindus of their belief in these principles, and of the hopes built upon them, it might fairly be denounced as most pernicious.

Thirdly, if we look at actual results, it will be found that of the well-educated converts to Christianity, nearly as many have come from the Hindu College and other Government Institutions, as from the Missionary Seminaries. The fact is generally admitted; and perhaps it is not so strange as may at first appear. In the Missionary seminaries, religious instruction is commenced at an early age, before the understanding is ripe for its reception. The youths are systematically drilled in the Catechisms and in the Evidences of Christianity. They acquire a habit of listening with apparent attention, of admitting every thing that the teacher requires, of answering questions on religion by rote, without any exercise of the understanding. In some cases, a habit of dissimulation is formed, unknown to the Missionary who, unconsciously and from the best motives, has been cultivating one of the prominent vices of the native character. It is surely needless to point out that the youth, in whom this habit of dissimulation is formed, is most unlikely ever to act with manliness, or to do any thing that demands a sacrifice such as conversion to Christianity very often demands. From all these dangers, the Government Institutions are free. The principles of a foreign religion are not pressed prematurely upon unripe minds. The pupils are expected on no occasion to express what they do not believe. When they begin, of their own accord, to turn their attention to the Christian religion, to enter into conversation and to read books upon the subject, it is with a keen relish, and with minds untainted by habits unfavourable to sincere reception of truth. The consequence is that some of the most intelligent among them, voluntarily and from the purest motives, embrace Christianity.—*Pp. 66—69.*

It is of course gratifying (and we say so in all sincerity) to know, that, in Mr. Kerr's private opinion, founded on personal intercourse with the students, native parents are not positively unwilling that their children should receive Christian instruction, and that the young men themselves are still more favourably disposed. But why does he state that as a matter of opinion, which has long ago passed into the province of fact? If he chose to look beyond his own circle, he could not but be aware, that more than four thousand Hindu youths at this moment attend the Missionary institutions in Calcutta and its vicinity, by the free-will and spontaneous act of their Heathen parents and relatives. The omission of any notice of so significant and decisive a fact is, to us, inexplicable.

We are still less satisfied, with his arguments for the introduction of Christianity into the Government system. The first

would have equal force, were the religion to be introduced Polytheism, or Budhism, or the faith of Muhammad ; for they have all "exercised an undeniable influence upon the progress of society" : and for the second, we are convinced, that Mr. Kerr has a more adequate notion of the august mission of Christianity than might be inferred from the very cautious statement that "it might be expected to improve the moral character of the students."

But, while he allows that the introduction of Christianity into the Government institutions would have "the happiest effect," he affirms, that the present system exerts "a very powerful and beneficial influence on the character of the natives," and denies indignantly, as a calumny unworthy of serious notice, that it may be truly called a "nursery of infidelity."

It will take stronger facts and better arguments than Mr. Kerr adduces, to establish the truth of the last two of these propositions. No one denies, that the object of the Government institutions is "to communicate truth in historical, philosophical, and scientific subjects :" and no one affirms that such truth is opposed to belief in *true* religion. The opponents, over whom Mr. Kerr triumphs, are men of straw. What the real opponents say, is what Mr. Kerr himself says elsewhere, that the Government system utterly destroys belief in Hinduism ; and, as it does not, so far as we are aware, profess to teach, in its stead, Pantheism, or Deism, or Christianity, or any form of positive religion, it leaves the students without a faith, and, therefore, infidels. Here is his own admission (*Note*, p. 65) :—

It is sometimes said, that the education we give, makes our students sceptical. It does make them sceptical, sceptical of all those *degrading* ideas, with which the *notion of a deity is associated in Hindu minds*.

This passage, especially so much of it as we have put into Italics, is, we believe, the sober truth ; and, because true, proves the imaginary existence of that substratum of belief in the unity, greatness, and goodness, of God, which the Government system professes to find in the Hindu mind.

It is not there—nor any thing like it : but, on the contrary, degrading notions of deity, and of man's relationships with deity ; notions, that debase, corrupt, and destroy the intellect and the soul, and which have been for ages the bane and curse of Hindustan. But the matter may be brought at once to an issue. We will not lay stress on the Minute of Mr. Cameron, which affirms, that the Government *must* teach morality without religion : but we put a plain question, to be met by a plain and direct answer ; and that answer will set the question at rest. If Young Bengal has learned a creed in the Government

Colleges, as he has surely lost one, what is that creed? If he is not an infidel, and has a faith, as Mr. Kerr appears to contend, nothing surely can be simpler than to tell us, what it is, and so end the controversy. But it is needless to ask such a question. The truth is notorious. Young Bengal has unhappily no religion.

Mr. Kerr does not improve his case by going out of his way to attack the Missionary institutions. We acquit him of deliberate or conscious misrepresentation, of which we believe him to be incapable; but we cannot acquit him of a discreditable ignorance of facts, which it was peculiarly easy for him to have ascertained. In the first place he takes for granted that nearly as many of the educated native converts have come from the Government institutions as from the Missionary seminaries.

Many years ago, when Christian schools were in their infancy, and the number of educated converts might amount to a dozen altogether, it was true that a half, or more than a half, of them had been at one time in a Government institution. It so happened, as we have already explained, that Dr. Duff's first three converts were thus circumstanced; and, chiefly through the influence of Mr. Bauerjya, a few others followed in their steps. But this state of things is long past. Referring to the statistics of the Free Church Mission, and, from about eighty baptisms, selecting the cases of educated converts, we find twenty-five males, and thirteen females, who have been trained in the Mission schools, and only four, who had received their education in the Government institutions. There were, indeed, but two converts from the Government institutions for the last fifteen years; and one of them turned out to be a plausible but worthless impostor. We believe the proportion in the other two great schools—the General Assembly's, and the Bhowanipore institutions—to be still more against the Government seminaries: and, only in one of the Church of England Missions, where less attention and labour have been given to native education, and where the native converts have the prospect of obtaining salaries and emoluments more than five times greater than their less favoured brethren, is there anything like an equality?\* But, taking all together, the numerical argument, if there be any force in it, will be found to be more than three to one in favour of the Missionary institutions. Thus

\* Nearly the whole body of converts from the Government institutions are to be found in the Church of England; and the greater part were, or are, in connection with Bishop's College. Giving them all credit for sincerity, this fact lends but slight support to Mr. Kerr's insinuation of superior purity of motives.

fact therefore, which Mr. Kerr takes for granted, is no fact at all; and the reasoning, by which he accounts for it, we take accordingly to be a little gratuitous. But it has worse faults than being gratuitous. One might suppose, from the confidence of Mr. Kerr's assertions, that he was actually cognizant of the things which he describes, and affirmed them from personal knowledge.

Let us compare the actual Missionary school with the caricature of Mr. Kerr. Taking again the Free Church institution, as the oldest and best known of the Missionary schools in Calcutta, and referring to the latest annual programme, we find in the school department twenty classes, and of these *two only*—the most advanced—reading two of the Gospels. The next year, or the year following, and always in the College department, they commence the study of the Evidences, studying at the same time Euclid, Algebra, and Logic. No catechism is taught in the institution. The system of teaching, which Mr. Kerr describes, as "answering by rote, without any exercise of the understanding," is "the intellectual system," which he ought to know the meaning of, and which is, at least, well known to the Calcutta public. It is precisely the opposite of teaching by rote, which we thought every body was aware of; and he might quite as justly have accused Captain Richardson of neglecting literature in his prelections, and of being too enthusiastically mathematical. Even if he means to restrict the accusation to the Evidences, it is no vain boast, but plain truth, which may be tested very easily, that there are converts connected with that institution, who can give a clearer and more intelligent account of the ancient and modern arguments, for and against Christianity, than any Englishmen of their own age in this city, and, we might add, than nine-tenths of the principals and professors in the Government colleges. We believe it also to be a fact, that no young man has been baptized by the Missionaries under the age of sixteen, which is fully equivalent to eighteen or twenty in England. To all these facts, we speak from knowledge, and challenge contradiction. They disprove the charge that Christianity is taught by rote, and prematurely forced upon unripe minds; and we trust, that, should Mr. Kerr's book reach a second edition, his own sense of fairness will lead him to repair, as he best may, his gross and inexcusable carelessness of statement.

We do not mean to defend Dr. Duff, and his colleagues in the various Missionary institutions, from Mr. Kerr's charge of ignorance of the native character, or of credulity, and incapacity as teachers;—or, to say any thing against his own su-

terior knowledge and experience. On these matters the public will form their own judgment. But he might have explained, we think, how the Missionaries manage to get such a share of the loaves and fishes, as to make it worth a native's while to flatter and deceive them; while, in the presence of the Government, with all its power and influence, he stands upright as a rock, in all the pride of conscious integrity! It may be well, however, to examine a little more gravely the reasons, if there be any, why the students in a Missionary institution should pretend to believe in Christianity. If they have no intention of being baptized, it is utterly absurd to suppose that they will voluntarily expose themselves, by such false profession, to the ordeal of being called upon, publicly, to avow and execute their supposed intentions—at the hazard, if they refuse, of being looked upon as hypocrites or cowards.

Many, again (indeed all at first), question the evidence boldly; but are often compelled to assent, without being convinced, simply because they can find no argument to withstand its force and weight. But simple assent to propositions, which they cannot refute, does not imply belief in Christianity, or any intention or desire of being baptized; and the Missionaries, with their handful of converts out of thousands of scholars, may be supposed, by this time, to understand that it does not.

Again, such as really seek to be baptized, neglecting exceptional cases (if there be such), must do so either from conviction, or cupidity. The best defence of the missionaries from unduly appealing to the latter of those motives, will be an appeal to facts. Out of the small number of Free Church converts, five held the gold medal of their year, that is, were the most distinguished students in the institution: and, we believe, a large majority of all the educated converts held the first places in their respective classes. "Three of these are now licensed preachers of the Gospel, with salaries of forty-eight rupees monthly; which is the largest salary ever paid to a Free Church convert in connection with the Mission. The others are employed as catechists, teachers, monitors, &c., on salaries varying from eight to thirty-two rupees. One of these, Behari Lal Singh, who had been educated in the institution, was in charge of a Government school at the time when he resolved to be a Christian. This was nine years ago. By the advice of one of the Missionaries, who believed him to have peculiar qualifications for the ministry, and with the full knowledge of what awaited him, he resigned a salary of one hundred rupees, with the fairest prospects of immediate advancement, and lived contentedly for years, receiving only eight rupees

monthly. He is now labouring cheerfully, as an active and zealous Catechist, on a salary of thirty-two rupees. Another gave up a situation in the Treasury, that he might be more directly employed in his Lord's cause, on a salary less than one-third of that which he formerly received. By the present rules, an ordained native missionary, as accomplished and as thoroughly educated as the majority of his European colleagues in the ministry—such a man, for instance, as the Rev. Lal Behari De—can only look forward to a salary of sixty or seventy rupees. Had he remained a Heathen, and entered the uncovenanted service, he might have looked forward to seven hundred. Such men can afford to fling back with honest scorn the imputation of worldly motives; and there is not one of them, who has not entered the church through suffering, and sacrifices and trials, most painful to flesh and blood. One might see strange sights perhaps, if a test as hard were applied to European professors of Christianity.

On the other hand, Heathen students of far lower attainments have procured situations of far higher emolument, on the recommendation of the missionaries, with salaries varying from twenty to 250 rupees, and even higher. They hold lucrative appointments in the Government offices and institutions. They are sudder amins, munsiffs, sub-assistant surgeons, darogahs, and clerks in mercantile establishments. In the institution itself, the Heathen teachers are better paid than Christian teachers of equal or higher attainments: and for every appointment, which the missionaries have procured for a Christian convert, they have obtained, at least, ten for their Heathen pupils.

These are facts; and it is for the reader to judge how far they support the charge, that the missionary system, consciously or unconsciously, tends to foster habits of dissimulation. We have the means of knowing that a most friendly feeling towards each other is entertained by the missionaries and the Heathen students, or those, at least, who never professed a belief in the Gospel, which long survives their connection as teachers and scholars; and that the only class, that has drawn down upon itself the rebuke and disapprobation of the missionaries, consists of those, who have professed to believe the truths of Christianity, and yet continue under the bondage of superstition and caste. Their dissimulation, if dissimulation it is, deceives no one; and it seems hard to discover what benefit they can expect from it, or for what purpose it is assumed.

But the learned Principal has yet another (and the crowning) argument in favour of that system, which he delights to honour.

If we are to believe Mr. Kerr, the most direct and most efficient means of conversion to the Christian faith are those employed in the Government seminaries ;—that is, to exclude all knowledge of that religion from the course of instruction, and to thrust the students forth upon the world, without any faith at all, to the mercies of chance, or the bare possibility of falling in with a man, who will, and can speak of the Gospel. The utter absurdity of such a proposition does not need the corroboration of experience : if it did, that corroboration has been abundantly supplied. Our own experience knows nothing of that keen relish, and those pure and lofty motives, with which the Government students are supposed to approach the Christian faith. The last fifteen years have given our largest educational mission but two baptisms from those whom Mr. Kerr lauds so highly ; and although the first three converts had, indeed, been educated in Government institutions, what they learned there, as we have already seen, taught them nothing but hatred, contempt, and hostility for the faith, which they afterwards embraced. All of them, by their own admission, left the Government institution, opponents of the Christian religion. It is preposterous, therefore, to claim for the Government system, not the whole, but any part, in that, which, under God, was then effected by the prayers and labours of Dr. Duff and Mr. Banerjya. The truth is, that a greater number of educated converts came over to the Free Church, during the period in question, from the Jews and Mussulmans, than from the Government schools ; and the Talmud and the Koran might as logically claim credit for the result, as the teaching of the Government system.

We cheerfully grant, that a better spirit has been of late infused into it, and that it is now conducted, in this Presidency at least, with as much efficiency, and with as little tendency to mischief, as such a scheme admits of. But we affirm, that, from the religious point of view, its work is solely destructive ; that it in no way disposes the mind to love or to embrace the Gospel ; that it sets loose upon society a multitude of infidels, hypocrites, and practical atheists ; and abandons the task of reclaiming them to chance, or to an agency utterly distinct from, and unconnected with its own. We put it to any sane man, whether there be in the whole world, among savages, and the most degraded idolators, any class more hopelessly impervious to the call of morality and religion, than the highly civilized and enlightened Atheism of modern Germany and France. It will take hundreds of years and millions of money to raise Hindustan to the same intellectual elevation ; and this is all

that the Government system proposes to accomplish, or, with its present instrumentality, *can* effect. But, if effected, *cui bono?* Is it a consummation, political or moral, so *very* desirable?

Of course, in a large body of young men, taken chiefly from the better and more intelligent classes of society, some minds will be found that are naturally thoughtful and inquisitive; and, with so novel a phenomenon before them as the religion of their Christian rulers, it is natural that they should turn to examine it, if not with a keen relish, at least with deep interest and attention. We believe, that a few such exceptional cases are to be found; and one case at least, that of Babu Gyanendra Tagore, stands out in bold relief. This gentleman, to his honor be it spoken, examined the matter for himself, and formed his own independent conclusions. The habits of reading and reflection, which he had acquired, led him to an examination of the Bible; and, aided by the advice and counsels of one or two Native Christian friends, carried him on to conviction, and public avowal of the truth of Christianity. But even were it possible (as it is not) to prove his baptism to have been the direct fruit of the Government system, all that could be urged in its favour, would only amount to this, that it had made thousands of hypocrites and infidels, and one Christian. It is not by such a scheme that Hindustan can be regenerated. The sole beacon lights for hope in regard to the future of Young Bengal, are that he is still young—not hardened and petrified into worldliness and religious apathy; and that Christian agency is at work on his behalf.

We part from Mr. Kerr in the hope of meeting him soon again, on ground where we can walk pleasantly together. With some cause for provocation, we have endeavoured to avoid every thing offensive or recriminatory. The question between him and us is a public question of great importance. We combat his opinions, chiefly, as the opinions of a party; and we are not sorry that he has given us an opportunity of expressing our views on these matters, as freely and frankly, as he has put forth his own. In his own department he is a safe and trust-worthy guide. He describes clearly, praises judiciously, and dissents with good sense, candour, and moderation. His book deserves to be a manual, and ought to be in the hands of all, who wish to know what the Government system is, or who are interested in native education. When he leaves his own field to attack other institutions on careless and imperfect information, he has not only gone wrong, but done wrong. But the wrong regards chiefly a careless and unconscious mis-statement of facts; and his conclusions, though arrived at very differently, are so nearly in unison with our own on the great ques-

tion of religious education, that we look upon him much more as an ally than as an opponent.

Before we leave this subject for the present, we must request the attention of our readers to a very singular exhibition, which took place, not long ago, in the Bombay Presidency. We allude to a Town Hall oration by Sir Erskine Perry, in the presence of the Governor, the leading members of European and Native Society, and the professors and students of the Elphinstone Institution. This gentleman holds the high office of Chief Justice in the Supreme Court, and has been, for many years, President of the Bombay Board of Education. The speech, too, was a parting speech, put forth deliberately and with pretension, and intended to be a gift to the community of the accumulated wisdom and experience of his Indian educational career. That career has been sufficiently original, and more distinguished for zeal than sobriety. Of his more noticeable crotchets, we select the following. As the most effectual means of extending the benefits of education to the people, with the present limited amount of funds, he proposes, that the Government should abandon its elementary Vernacular schools; that it should select the *Brahmans* as the favoured class (excluding the lower castes) for a gratuitous English education, leaving it to *them* to communicate what they had received, to the lower castes, and to the mass of their countrymen! Another somewhat less visionary speculation was, that of making English a *lingua franca* for all India. The last, which we shall mention, but not the least characteristic, consisted in having his own image stamped upon a medal, and awarding it as a prize for an essay on the following subject:—"The advantages, which would result to India by the establishment of a Serai, or public bungalow, in London, with compound, wells, &c., suitable for native travellers!"

Such Utopian fancies and innocent vanities at the worst provoke a smile; and might well be forgiven to a far less able and distinguished man. Were there nothing more objectionable in his Town Hall speech, he might have returned to Europe with the reputation of a zealous and enthusiastic supporter of native education; and the claim, which he makes to the title of "a Christian philanthropist," might have been left undisputed. Unfortunately, this rash and unadvised production abounds with statements, mischievous in their tendency, damaging to his own character, and most unbecoming the scene and the occasion. It is because he is a British Judge, and a high Government dignitary, and because he took undue advantage of his position, but too well calculated in itself to influence the minds of the

fourteen hundred young natives who listened to him, that we feel it to be our duty, as public journalists, to call him to the bar of that great English public, of which he is but an unit, and which has nothing in common with the privileged clique, or the apathetic and half-heathenish spirit, so prevalent in Anglo-Indian Society.

On such an occasion, every word should have been carefully weighed. The treatment of his subject involved very serious responsibility, and demanded a correspondingly serious spirit; and its higher bearings were suggested to him by the French writer, whose desire to know what influence "Christian" Europe is now exerting on heathen India, it was one of the professed objects of Sir Erskine's speech to satisfy. Here, too, was the flower of the Bombay youth, prepared by all those external circumstances, which work so powerfully upon the mind through the heart and the imagination, to give ready hearing to words, which might influence their whole future destiny. It was a noble opportunity, and cruelly misused. That Sir Erskine was not unaware of these things, will be evident from the following grandiloquent exordium :—

" My Lord, I have been now for many years presiding over the educational institutions of this part of India. I have necessarily been called upon to consider the subject in all its various bearings, and I have formed such strong convictions and deeply rooted opinions on many of the points on which the judgments of many are still hesitating, lukewarm, or adverse, that I feel sure, were I but able to clothe my views in vigorous and concise language, I could render some service to Government, and to the cause of truth. But even without this power, the testimony of an experienced witness possesses a certain value; and as this is the last occasion (I say it with no pleasurable emotion) on which I shall have an opportunity of meeting an assemblage such as this, I would fain, my Lord, request the indulgence of the meeting to hear with me for a short time, whilst I endeavour to discharge a duty, which though self imposed, appears to me (I trust, not misled by any undue feeling) to belong to my position and to the period."

Sir Erskine then proceeds to notice an article, which appeared in the "*Annuaire des Deux Mondes*" for 1850, the writer of which notices with approbation the efforts to extend native education in India, passes a warm and well-merited eulogium on the late Mr. Bethune, and laments the want of detailed information as to the comparative results of the systems followed in the Government and Missionary schools, and the degree to which "the ideas, information, and feelings, which form the patrimony of Christian Europe," have been appropriated by the native mind. We shall not follow the learned Judge in his lamentations for his past lack of Government favour and popular applause; or in his unceremonious appropriation of the unconscious Frenchman's praise, which for the first time "conveyed balm to his

som," and which he describes, in one of the queerest sentences we ever read, as "the voice of a stranger sitting on a hill, remote in a distant land, echoing back our own sentiments, and in language at times almost identical with our own—though it is clear the writer has never met with the reports of the Bombay Board!"

We shall not even remark (much as it deserves the severest reprobation) on his teaching such an audience, that "it is the undoubted duty of every man of intelligence, in whatever department of life he may be placed, to act in accordance with the genius of the age;"—from which it would appear, that, according to Sir Erskine Perry, the voice of conscience and the word of God have very little to do in the matter.

We pass at once to the following statement, which we reprint *verbatim*, as we find it in the *Bombay Gazette* :—

There is still another subject broached by the French writer, which I do not feel myself at liberty to blink. He desires to obtain exact information as to the results produced under the different systems adopted by Government and the missionaries. A prudent public man, who has objects of ambition to serve, will not willingly encounter the *odium theologicum*, which an inquiry of this kind may provoke, and which often, undoubtedly, calls forth a superabundant mixture of angry feelings. But it is a most important question with respect to education, whether the Government system or that of the missionaries is the right one. And as I feel myself in the independent position of one, who has nothing to hope and nothing to fear, and as moreover, the sincere respect which I bear for many of the reverend labourers in the Missionary field whom I knew personally, enables me to approach the question in what I fully believe to be an impartial frame of mind, I will not hesitate to express the opinion which I have formed, as a Judge, as a Citizen, and as a Father, for in all these characters the question has been before me, that the Government system, with total absence of religious instruction, is not only the most expedient system in this country, but it is the only one that accords with my sense of what is just and right. I will not cite the opinions of some divines, who hold that the Missionary system of education in India engenders *hypocrisy*; nor will I do more than point to the example of the Dutch in Ceylon, who made the nominal profession of Christianity a condition precedent to office; but I content myself with the enunciation of a doctrine, which appears to me indisputable, that it is tyranny of the worst kind on the part of the State to interpose between the father and his child in the inculcation of religious opinions not approved of by the parent. And if it is wrong to do so on the part of the State by the exercise of mere power, it is almost equally wrong on the part of an individual to take advantage of the plastic mind of youth to introduce religious impressions by the exercise of *temptations*, which a very poor and a rather cunning people are not able to resist, or are not unwilling to encounter. I dwell on this subject the more, because I know that many scrupulous and over-sensitive minds in the Government educational service, from the want of any plain speaking by the supporters of Government, have at times been goaded into doubts as to the propriety of labors; and attempts have been made which have required firm on the part of the authorities to resist, by which a departure from

established principles would have been introduced. To all such men I have argued, if you are satisfied, as I hear you say, that you succeed in producing more truly Christian virtues in the young men whom you are training, than those produced by the Missionaries, and if you disapprove of the Hindu's look of triumph, which assures you, as his boy returns from school, of his inward conviction, that he has made a very good bargain by getting an education for nothing from the Padres,—why do you not exhort these reverend gentlemen to imitate the system of Government, and confine themselves to intellectual and moral training, so long as the child is immature and in *statu pupillari*, and only then address themselves to religious instruction, when the field becomes an open one, and the youth is emancipated from the parental authority? I should be sorry to see the labors of the Rev. Mr. Nisbett, of Dr. Wilson, of the Messrs. Mitchell, above all of the zealous and Catholic American Mission, and the writers in the *Dnyanodaya*, from whom I have derived much instruction, withdrawn from Education, but I cannot offer any apology for the system adopted by Government, or let it be supposed for a moment that we think the missionary system superior or equal to our own, and that our own proceedings are persevered in, merely because we believe them to be expedient, and not because we are satisfied they are wholly right.

There is nothing, which the English mind endures with greater dislike and impatience, than to see the ermine trailing in the dust of controversy, and a British Judge abandoning his own high and dignified position to assume that of a passionate and reckless partisan. Public opinion surrounds the bench with a respect approaching to reverence, and guards it with jealous pride. It does not indeed confer upon a judge the attribute of infallibility; but it looks for a spirit, that will not lend itself to party,—for calm and measured statements, for sound well-considered opinions, and unbending moral principle. The providence of God raised Sir Erskine Perry from this proud position to occupy a higher. He was called upon as a Christian statesman and philanthropist to counsel with his parting words the educated native youth—the *elite* and hope of their country—and to point out to them the only path, that can lead to national regeneration. England will learn with amazement that a British Judge and Christian statesman shamefully misused this golden opportunity, by virtually assuring these interesting young men, that it was their bounden duty, until they reached the years of majority, to continue in idolatry: that their parents had a right to teach them to dishonour God by the worship of impure idols, and to bring them up to the practice of human sacrifice, female infanticide, caste, *sutti*, or,—if *Thugs*, to the profession of robbery and murder on the high road; and that it was “tyranny of the worst kind” to teach them differently, or to make known to them the Gospel of the true and living God. All this is most distinctly implied in the doctrine of state *policy*, which Sir Erskine Perry is upholding.

tically puts forward before the Hindu youths, in his three-fold capacity of "a judge, a citizen, and a father." His reasoning, as might be supposed, is well fitted to his conclusions, and consists of unsupported insinuations, and reckless assertions that cut both ways, conceived in the spirit of a last century French "philosophe." If it needed an answer, we might urge—that his own system is equally at variance with the religious opinions of the Hindu parent, and as surely destroys that faith, with which it falsely pretends not to interfere; that it is the parents themselves, who send their children to the missionary schools, knowing that they will be taught Christianity; and that sneers and insinuations, without any attempt at proof, fall harmless to the ground. Those, who look upon the missionary enterprise as the grandest in the universe, and see already in the germ the distant but inevitable and glorious consummation, will estimate such cavils at their intrinsic worth. But they will learn with sorrow and with shame, that a Christian judge and statesman, in the middle of the nineteenth century, and in his official capacity as President of a board of education, laid down, before a large assemblage, applauded and unrebuked, the following propositions for the guidance of the native youth;—that the youthful mind is peculiarly plastic; that Hindu parents have a right to fill it with idolatry; that the attempt, in obedience to the commandment of God, to teach to it the Gospel of his son, by moral suasion, and fair argument, with the consent of all parties, and in the open light of day, is not only wrong, but very nearly "tyranny of the worst kind;" and that, until the age of sixteen years is passed, the soul may be left to its fate, and has no need of salvation.

We trust that, in the new Charter, due provision shall be made to avert the national disgrace of suffering such statements again to be put forth under the implied sanction of a British Government.

We refer all, who wish for a really impartial and unbiased testimony on these great questions, to the masterly treatise of Sir J. Emerson Tennent on the history of Christianity in Ceylon. There they will find no mock tinsel, no self-panegyries, or ~~empty~~ latitudinarianism; but the sterling gold of a profound and philosophical judgment, and the lofty moral tone of a genuine Christian philanthropist. The most enviable fate for Sir Erakine's Town Hall exhibition would be to be forgotten as speedily as possible, and buried out of mind.

ART. VI.—1. *Life of Mohammed*: *Bombay Tract and Book Society. Bombay, 1851.*

2. *The Life of Mohammed*: *London. Religious Tract Society.*

3. *Life of Mohammed*. *By Washington Irving. London. Henry G. Bohn, 1850.*

4. *Mawlid Sharif. The Ennobled Nativity*. *Lucknow, 1265, Heg. Cawnpore, 1267, Heg. Agra, 1268, Heg (1852.)*

5. *Kitâb i Istîfâr*: (Book of Questions) p. 806. *Lucknow, 1262, Heg. (1845.)*

6. *Hall ul Ishkâl*: (the Solution of Difficulty.) *A Reply to Kashful Astâr, and Kitâb i Istîfâr. Agra, 1847.*

WITHIN the last ten or twenty years, the mind of Christian Europe has been directed, with more studious earnestness and dispassionate enquiry, towards the rise of Islam, than in any preceding period: and the progress made in searching out the truths of that crisis in the world's history, is characterized by a corresponding success. Indeed, the amount of facts carefully collected, and of data philosophically weighed within that short term, is, perhaps, of greater value than all the labours of Christian writers during the twelve preceding centuries.

It is only necessary to mention the names of WEIL, of COUSIN DE PERRIVAL, and of SPRENGER—and very many more might be adduced,—to call up to recollection the depth of study, philosophy, and Oriental learning, which have been brought to bear upon the subject. Some portions of these labours have been cursorily reviewed in this journal. But they deserve, and will, we trust, yet receive, a far deeper and more extended survey. The task is one to which our pages may be well devoted. The facilities for the study are, probably, greater in India, than in any other part of the world: and the discovery by Sprenger of the invaluable WACKIDY, gives promise of, perhaps, still farther treasures, purchased from the west, at some remote period, by the riches of the Mohammedan conquerors and amirs, and, it may be, still extant. However, if the exertions of Sprenger had resulted in bringing Wackidy alone to the light, he had deserved, even for that task, the gratitude of all the lovers of Mohammed's biography.

But our labors must not dissipate in literary phantoms, in the mere charms of antiquarian research, or even in the substantial acquisition of remote historical truths. Dear as these are to us, they are but baubles in themselves. It is because they bear upon the faith and the superstitions of millions of

Mohammedans about us, that these investigations are possessed of an unspeakable value and importance.

Hitherto, we have been able to address the Mohammedan only in the language of the west ; we have told him of the disquisitions of Maracci and of Prideaux, and he has looked with contemptuous incredulity upon our words. In truth, he might well do so. for they were but poor authorities, who ventured with no tempered weapons into the momentous strife. They were possessed neither of the native authorities, nor, apparently, of the cool judgment and philosophy requisite for closing hand to hand with Moslem adversaries.

But now we can boldly take our stand with the best of our opponents. We have free access to their most authentic sources, Ibn Ishâck, Wâckidî, Iishâmi, Tabari. And we can, without fear, confront them with an array of hostile weapons, drawn from their own armouries.

How then, it may be asked, are we bringing these now advantages to bear upon the delusions of the false prophet ? The answer is one of shame and humiliation. Besides a few tracts, generally, of a questionable composition, the only Vernacular treatises likely to affect the Mohammedan mind, are the noble works of the Missionary Pfandor, which we have, in a former number, passed under examination : but even these have little reference to the historical deductions of modern research, and deal more with the deep principles of reason and of faith.

The first work at the head of this article, professes to be a direct step towards the object we have in view. It is a *Life of Mohammed* intended for the natives of India, and for translation into "the Vernacular tongues." The preface, after dwelling on the inapplicability of *European* biographies of the prophet, to the "Asiatic public," thus states the object of the treatise. "It was, therefore, thought advisable to prepare another *Life of Mohammed*, with special reference to the state of mind, and circumstances of the people of this country. This is now presented."

This treatise is brought forth under the auspices of the Bombay Tract and Book Society," an off-shoot of one of the noblest institutions in the world, "the Religious Tract Society of London," which has itself published a *Life of Mohammed* ; and this life has been extensively used in the preparation of the Indian work.

We looked to see the investigations regarding the rise of Islam, which have been prosecuted, with such success, in France and Germany, in Austria, and India, taken advantage of in the *Bombay Biography*. But our expectation was apparently dis-

appointed by the authorities quoted in the preface, which are as follows :—

" In preparing it, many works have been consulted, but the following, and especially the first three, are those which have been most copiously used, viz.—

*Burn's Life of Mohammed,*  
*Washington Irving's Ditto,*  
*Religious Tract Society's Ditto London,*  
*Sale's Quran and Preliminary Treatises,*  
*Gibbon's History*"

Of the three works thus chiefly relied upon, we have no knowledge of the first. But the second and third possess no pretensions to critical accuracy, being simple digests, popularly constructed from the current histories on the subject.

From such sources a treatise adapted for the uncritical portion of the European public, might, perhaps, have been well constructed, but it was a wrong step to lean upon such authorities, in the preparation of a biography of Mohammed, intended for the natives of India.

The biography of their prophet, it is true, is not a favourite study with the Mohammedans of the present day ; it forms no part of the usual course of scholastic study or theological reading ; and is only taken up by those whose religious, or whose antiquarian tastes attract them to the subject. Still the main facts of the prophet's life are generally known, and the natives of India can, at any rate, readily ascertain them by reference to the historical works scattered about the country. Lives of Mohammed, edited by Christians, if they attract attention at all, will challenge the closest examination. If errors be detected in them, their effect will not simply be neutralized. their tendency will be positively injurious. The natives will be impressed with the idea, that our sources of information are imperfect and erroneous, and will conclude, that our judgment of Mohammed and of his religion, founded upon these, is imperfect and erroneous also. They will thus be fortified in their scornful rejection of all Christian evidence, and in their self-complacent reliance on the dogmas of Islam.

This is, therefore, not a mere speculative criticism, in which the reviewer may be accused of searching for faults, merely for fault-finding's sake. The most apparently trifling misrepresentation has a real and important bearing in the controversy with the Mohammedans. It is a subject in which every Christian man has a deep interest at stake. And as such we take it up."

" Let us now look for a moment at the two authorities

named, from which the Bombay life of Mohammed is mainly constructed.

The *Life of Mohammed*, by Washington Irving, does not aim at being more than a popular treatise. "The author lays 'no claim to novelty of fact, nor profundity of research.' His work "does not aspire to be consulted as an authority, but 'merely to be read as a digest of current knowledge, adapted to 'popular use.'" Yet even in such a biography, rigid accuracy, as far as his authorities went, the public had a right to expect; but in this treatise, the accuracy of truth is sometimes lost sight of, amid the charms of a romantic style, and an enchanting narrative.

This is not owing to any unfair bias in the historian's mind. For the conclusions drawn from his facts are generally such as do credit to his feelings as well as to his judgment. It is owing to imperfect knowledge, arising apparently in part from want of diligence in using authorities actually at his command, and in part from the disadvantages which all labour under, who approach the subject without a knowledge of Arabic, and having no acquaintance with the early Arabian authors.

In one respect, this is the more inexcusable, because Washington Irving confesses in his preface, to have "profited by recent 'lights thrown on the subject by different writers, and particularly by Dr. Gustav Weil, to whose industrious researches and able 'disquisitions, he acknowledges himself greatly indebted." From such authorities he has, indeed, enriched his pages with many facts hitherto new to the English reader, and with many a story beautifully told. But he has not used them invariably as he might. Had he studied with diligence the invaluable work of Dr. Weil, he would have avoided many of the mistakes and imperfections which must seriously detract from the value of his biography.

Another objection, and one that runs throughout the book, is, that the author writes too much for effect. The style is beautiful. A charm of romance is thrown around the topics so poetically pourtrayed.\* But truth is sometimes sacrificed to effect. And thus the very essence, and only worth of an historical treatise, is, in some measure, lost. It is true, that very often, if not always, this may be owing to the indistinctness or imperfection of the author's knowledge. But the fault itself is not the less to be denounced.

A most prejudicial result of this uncritical and rhetorical style is, that the fabricated stories of supernatural and miraculous events, which the pious credulity of later days engrafted on

the biography of Mohammed, have been wrought into the history, and no means have been afforded to the reader, for discerning the real from the fictitious events : nor amongst the latter, for discriminating, which were pretended by Mohammed himself, and which were long afterwards, without grounds, ascribed to him.

The beautiful portrait of Mohammed, placed at its commencement, is a fit emblem of the whole work. The countenance beams with intelligence, struggling between sensuousness and lofty resolve :—in the back ground is the caaba, with its sombre hangings ; and a crowd of followers are flourishing their scimitars and daggers with angry gesture at each other. A charming picture ! But not that of the real Mohammed in his Arab garb ; for here he is sumptuously arrayed in an ermine-bound robe ; in one hand he holds an open volume, and the other is stretched aloft, to enforce his earnest address. Now Mohammed never preached from any book ; the Koran was, in fact, not even collected during his life-time, but remained recorded in scattered shreds. So much for the delightful, but fancy-sketches of Washington Irving : pleasant, perhaps profitable, for the English reader, but in no wise suited for Mohammedian countries.

It would be ungenerous to subject the unpretending little treatise of the *London Tract Society* to too close a scrutiny. For the purposes of that institution, and with the materials at their command, it is, in many respects, an admirable abridgement. How far it is fitted for the ground-work of an Indian work, will appear from the following strictures upon the *Bombay Life of Mohammed*, which has borrowed from it very largely, —frequently entire and successive pages—especially in the historical parts.

The first paragraph of this biography contains the following statement, common both to the London and to the Bombay treatise. Mohammed “ was left in his childhood to the care of his grandfather, who, at his death, intrusted the orphan to his son Abu Tâlib, on whom the *honours* and the *wealth* of the family then devolved. The uncle trained the youth at a proper age, to the business of a merchant traveller. He continued in the employ of his uncle, till he was twenty-five years old ; and this is all that is known of his early history.”—*London Life*, p. 32. *Bombay Life*, p. 26.

This passage is erroneous in more than one respect. Abu Talib, instead of being wealthy, was extremely indigent. A portion of the honors of the family did, indeed, devolve upon him,

but his poverty forced him to abandon them to his brother Abbas.

Nach Abd Al Muttalib's Tode, ging das Recht, die Pilger zubewirthen, an seinen Sohn Abu Talib über, der aber bald so arm ward, dass er es seinem Bruder Abbas überliess, welcher dann auch die polizeiliche Aussicht über den Tempel erhielt. "After Abd Al Muttalib's death, the right to entertain the pilgrims passed over to his son, Abu Talib, who however soon became so poor, that he left it to his brother, Abbas, who received also the political charge of the temple — Weil's Mohammed, p 10, and so all the Arabic authorities

It was, in fact, Abu Tālib's poverty, which obliged him to suggest to Mohammed, that he should seek for a livelihood in Khadija's service. Thūl, Wāckidī:—

When Mohammed reached his five-and-twentieth year, Abu Tālib thus addressed him — "I am, as thou well knowest, a man without substance, and the times deal hardly with me. Now here is a caravan of thine own tribe about to set out for Syria, and Khadija, daughter of Khuweilid, needeth men from amongst our people to send forth with her merchandise. If thou wert to offer thyself in this capacity, she would readily accept thee," &c — Wāckidī p 24.

On a previous occasion, when Mohammed was a boy of twelve, Abu Talib carried him on a mercantile trip to Syria, but this was simply because the orphan lad clung to his paternal protector:—

When Abu Tālib was on the point of starting, Mohammed was overcome by affection and by grief, at the prospect of being separated from him, and Abu Tālib's bowels were moved, and he said, "I will take him with me, and he shall not part from me, nor I from him, for ever." — Hishāmī, p. 36.

These are the only two mercantile expeditions undertaken by Mohammed, of which we have any account. and the probabilities are, that he never entered upon any other. What then becomes of the "training at a proper age, to the business of a merchant traveller,† and continuing in the employ of his uncle till he was twenty-six years old?"

Equally faulty are the concluding words, "this is all that is known of his early history." Much more is known, and that, too, of an important and interesting nature.

A little farther on, Mohammed is described as having "a piercing wit and lively imagination." The latter he certainly did possess, but tempered by a solemn dignity, which delivereded itself in pregnant and weighty words. He was given to silence in society, and listened rather than spoke much. If he had

\* The references to Wāckidī and Hishāmī, are to the identical MSS., described in Dr. Sprenger's book; to which we possess the good fortune of having access.

† Dr. Sprenger also (p 79.) speaks of Abu Tālib "bringing up Mohammed to the caravan commerce." but, apparently, without adducing any authority for the statement.

the materials of a piercing wit, he seldom or never exercised them.

The following passage, regarding the evidence for the miracles of Mohammed, is entirely wrong :—

By some of the more credulous of Mohammed's followers, there are, it is true, several miracles attributed to him, as that he clave the moon asunder, that trees went forth to meet him, that water flowed from between his fingers, that the stones saluted him, that a beam groaned to him, that a camel complained to him, and that a shoulder of mutton informed him of its being poisoned, together with several others. But these miracles were never alleged by Mohammed himself, *nor are they maintained by any respectable Moslem writer* —*Bombay Life*, p. 37

On the contrary, those miracles are maintained by every Mohammedan writer, whether respectable or not. Even the honest Wackidy (as Dr. Sprenger well styles him,) excepting the first, gives the whole of the miracles specified above, and very many more besides. Indeed, a Mohammedan would not be regarded as orthodox, who denied any of those miracles.

An anonymous, but carefully prepared *Urdu Life of Mohammed* (written apparently at Delhi,) contains particulars of the following, among a multitude of other miraculous works. A dirty handkerchief cast into an oven, came out of the flames, white and unsinged, because it had been used by Mohammed. His spittle turned a bitter well into a sweet one; removed a scald; cured the ophthalmia; restored sight to a blind man; mended a broken leg, and healed instantaneously a deep wound. A man's hand was severed in battle from his arm; he carried it to Mohammed, who, by applying his spittle, rejoined it as before. Catāda's eye was knocked entirely out; the prophet placed his hand upon it and healed it. A dumb boy was cured by drinking the water he had washed his mouth and hands in. He laid his hands upon a lunatic child, who was cured, a black reptile being immediately discharged from his body. A great variety of animals opened their mouths on different occasions, and gave testimony in his favour. He laid hold of a goat, and the mark of his fingers, impressed on its ear, descended to its posterity, and still remains a living evidence! Notwithstanding these, and scores of other equally ridiculous stories, an intelligent Mohammedan, intimately acquainted with the original Arabic biographers, declared to us his conviction, that the book was throughout credible, and based on well-founded traditions!

The same author abuses a set of heretics at Delhi, who, he says, do not receive "the miracle of the foot," viz., that stones received the impression of Mohammed's step, while it left no mark on soft or sandy ground. "It is a matter," says he, "of 'extreme astonishment, that a lately established sect, notwithstanding

standing their claims to learning, deny the miracle of the blessed foot. And what is still stranger, they prohibit the mention of the holy nativity, the Mirâj, the miracles, and the death of the prophet ;—some calling this, abominable veneration of the creature, others heresy. They seem not to know that to make mention of Mohammed, is tantamount to making mention of God himself, a duty enjoined in the Koran. Such people may well tremble, lest they draw down upon themselves the wrath of the Lord, and a fearful punishment." Considerable pains are then taken to prove from the Koran and tradition, that the mention of the prophet is equal to the mention of God, and that it is lawful to invoke the prophet in prayer, saying, "oh Mohammed!" a practice reprobrated apparently by these *Protestant Moslems* \*

But to return from this digression to our English biographies ;—when the persecution of Mohammed by the Coreish became very hot, Abu Tâlib, with the prophet and his kinsmen, retired to a part of Mecca, where they remained shut up for three years. They are described as "finding a shelter in the *castle* of Abu Tâlib." (*London Life*, p. 39 ; *Bombay Life*, p. 40); Washington Irving (p. 56,) falls into the same mistake. And still more strange, Weil has also a "castle" of Abu Tâlib. (*Mohammed der Prophet*, p 60 ; and *Einleitung*, p. 9,) "entfernte er ihn aus der Stadt, und brachte ihn auf sein befestigtes Landschloss"—he took him out of the city and brought him to his fortified "country castle." Sprenger has shown (p 189,) that the *Shab* (شَبَاب) of Abu Tâlib is nothing more than the quarter of the town in which he lived. It probably occupied one of the defiles or ravines running up towards the mountain Abur Cubeis, which overhangs Mecca on that side: and having a narrow entrance, was protected against the attacks of the hostile Coreish.

The Mirâj, or nocturnal journey to heaven, is given in great detail, and the fictions connected with it are brought forward as the statements of Mohammed himself. No orthodox Mohammedan will object to this: but a more intelligent criticism would trace the extravagant fancies of this wonderful tale to a later era, and would place its bare ground-work only to the credit of Mohammed. Indeed, throughout these books, the most

\* The people here reprobated are called, we understand, Wahâbîs, and their origin is probably connected in some way with the Wahâbîs of Arabia. Equally with them, they reject much of the marvellous folly and superstitions of the modern Moslems, and have learnt to submit the current notions received from their fathers to the judgment of reason. Are they not hence prepared, in some measure, to appreciate and to welcome our criticism of the early historical sources? It would be interesting to know something more of these Delhi Wahâbîs.

marvellous and improbable statements are recorded, without the slightest attempt to discriminate reality from fiction.

The battle of Badr is related with more circumstantiality and correctness in the Bombay edition, than in the London one. The latter makes the unpardonable mistake of asserting, that Mohammed left Omar behind him to defend Medina (p 51) while the fact is, that Omar took part in the council of war on the field of Badr, and in the action itself. The Moslems have carefully noted those who were absent from that memorable battle, and no tradition notes Omar amongst them.

The accounts of this battle are singularly inaccurate, both in Irving and in the Bombay biography. A slight reference to Weil, would have obviated the mistakes. It is assumed that the Mussulman force interposed itself between the caravan of Abu Sofian and the Meccan army; while, in reality, the caravan had securely escaped towards Mecca, some days before either of the armies reached Badr.

"The spies of the prophet informed him, that their rich and apparently easy prey was within his grasp. He advanced with a few followers, in pursuit of it, but before he could overtake the unprotected band, Abu Sofian had despatched a messenger to his brethren at Mecca, for a reinforcement. \* \* \* Mohammed was posted *between the caravan and the approaching succour*, with only 313 soldiers. \* \* \* The troops were persuaded to engage the superior forces of the enemy, abandoning, for the present, the tempting prize of Abu Sofian's wealthy caravan. \* \* \* A slight entrenchment was formed, to cover the flank of his troops, and a rivulet flowing past the spot he had chosen for encampment, furnished his army with a constant supply of water. \* \* \* At the commencement of the battle, the prophet, together with Abu Beker, mounted a kind of throne or pulpit, earnestly asking of God the assistance of Gabriel, with 3,000 angels, but when his army appeared to waver, he started from his place of prayer, *threw himself upon a horse*, and casting a handful of sand into the air, exclaiming, "confusion fill their faces!" rushed upon the enemy. \* \* \* This sum (the ransom of the prisoners) would compensate, in a measure, for the escape of the booty, *for notwithstanding the defeat, Abu Sofian managed to effect a decent retreat*, and to arrive safely at Mecca, with the greater part of the caravan. The spoils, however, arising from the ransom of the prisoners, and the partial plunder of the caravan, amounted to a considerable sum, the division of which very nearly proved fatal to the victors themselves. \* \* \* A furious altercation ensued, &c., &c."—pp. 60—63.

The main facts preliminary to the engagement, are these. Mohammed was on the watch for the return from Syria, of Abu Sofian's caravan; and as the time drew near, despatched two spies northward to Hawra, who were to bring him intelligence of Abu Sofian's approach. They waited there, however, until the caravan had passed. Mohammed, meanwhile, anxious at their delay, and suspecting that Abu Sofian might have given them the slip,

marched forth towards Badr, before their return. The event justified his sagacity.

Abu Sofiān had received intimation, while in Syria, of Mohammed's designs, and from thence had despatched Dlām Dham (not Omar, as Irving says,) to rouse the Coreish at Mecca, and bring them forth to his succour. As Abu Sofiān approached Medina, he was kept in continual alarm, and travelling by forced marches, anxiously looked out for the Meccan succours ; and well he might, for Mohammed's army was not far off, and by a rapid detour towards the sea coast, might possibly have cut him off. As Abu Sofiān approached Badr, he rode forward to reconnoitre the spot, and by the well of Badr, came upon the traces of two scouts of Mohanimed, who had shortly left, and whom he recognized by the Medina shape of the date stones in the dung, where their camels had been tied up.\* In dismay he hurried back to his caravan, and, without a moment's delay, leaving the road to the left, struck off towards the coast, and by forced and rapid marching, was soon out of danger. He then sent off a messenger to the Coreish army, to inform them of his safety, and to recal them ; but his mandate not being obeyed, he joined the army himself.

Soon after he left Medina, Mohammed had gained intelligence, that a Coreish army had set out from Medina, and he likewise learnt, from the two scouts, on their return from Badr, that the caravan was expected there immediately. After a council of war, he determined to set forth and attack the army. When he came up to Badr, he was still ignorant that the caravan had passed, and a watering party of Coreish was seized and beaten by the Moslems, in the vain hope of extorting from them a confession that they belonged to the caravan and not to the army. It was a day or two after this that the battle occurred.

We have been particular in noting these facts, to show that the statements of Mohammed's army " being posted between the ' caravan and the approaching succour,' of ' the partial plunder of the caravan,' and the account of Abu Sofiān, ' notwithstanding the defeat, managing to effect a decent retreat, and to arrive safely at Mecca, with the greater part of the caravan,' are not correct.

\* Irving's inaccuracy here deserves notice. " At length he came upon the track of the little army of Mohammed. He knew it from the size of the kernels of the dates, which the troops had thrown by the wayside as they marched," p. 98. Mohammed's army had not passed that way, but was, at the time, far behind. The date-kernels were not thrown by the way, but were contained in the camels' dung : and the traditions are particular in describing how Abu Sofiān took up the dung and crumbled it in his hands, scrutinizing the kernels.

So likewise the description of the "rivulet" flowing past the encampment, is not borne out by native authorities, which speak only of wells there.\* The assertion that Mohammed mounted a "kind of throne or pulpit," and that he threw himself upon a horse, "when the troops began to waver," are equally unfounded, and occur in no original authority that we know. The disputes as to the distribution of the spoil, are also much exaggerated. There is no foundation for holding that they had "very nearly proved fatal to the victors themselves."

The Mohamedans regard the victory of Badr, with more than even their usual pride and vain glory. It is therefore of the last importance, that in any history we put into their hands, the facts should be so supported by acknowledged authorities, as to inspire them with trust and confidence in our means of information, and the care with which we use them.

Let us take another instance of the looseness with which Mohammed's military excursions are related. The expedition to Muta against the Greeks, three years before the prophet's death, is represented as ending in a triumph; it is added, "the account of this victory so delighted Mohammed, that he bestowed on Khaled the title, 'One of the swords of the 'Lord,'" (*Bombay Life*, p. 91; *London Life*, p. 75) Irving goes farther, and says that the Greeks "were pursued with great 'slaughter. Khaled then plundered their camp, in which was 'found great booty."

The Mohammedan historians are, no doubt, particularly sensitive in describing anything like a reverse, and have endeavoured, in the present instance, to patch up their utter discomfiture, by counter-traditions of a later fabrication. But the facts of the case, as delivered in the earliest accounts of Hisham and Wackidy, are unmistakeable. The defeat of the Moslems at Muta was complete, and the carnage amongst them fearful; it was only by the most masterly generalship, that Khaled managed to save any portion of the army; and when its remnants returned in disgrace to Medina, the inhabitants assembled to meet them, and cast dirt in their faces, with taunts like the following, "Ah ye runaways! shame upon you, that ye dare 'to turn your backs when fighting for the Lord!" Mohammed stilled the people, and comforted the fugitives, saying, "Nay! 'they are not runaways: but they are men who shall return 'again unto the battle, if the Lord will."†

It is very right to bring, formally, before the Mohamedans,

\* Burkhardt (*travels in Arabia*, vol. II, p. 301) speaks "of a copious *Wadi* flowing through the town" of Badr, but the field of Badr lay a mile to the south.

† Hisham, p. 299. Wackidy, 125.

such defeats as this,—the reverse at Ohod, and the temporary, but nearly fatal, discomfiture among the defiles of Honein. They have an important bearing on some of Mohammed's own arguments in the Koran, where victory is quoted as a miraculous interposition of the divine arm in his favour.

Again, in the work before us, several essential features in Mohammed's life have been treated with great curtess, sometimes hardly alluded to at all. The frightful butchery of the Bani Corcitz, —the whole of whose adult males, to the number of from six to nine hundred, were murdered in cold blood, Mohammed himself looking on,—and the numerous assassinations conducted by the prophet's express sanction and direction, in the most dastardly and infamous manner, are sufficient to brand his character with an indelible stigma of disgrace. These incidents have not been developed with the fulness they deserve.

It is strange that Washington Irving, with all his sources of information, could have been led into so strange a misrepresentation as the following :—

He himself (Mohammed) is charged with the use of insidious means, to rid himself of an enemy : for it is said, that he sent Amru ibn Oneyd on a secret errand to Mecca, to assassinate Abu Sofiān, but that the plot was discovered, and the assassin only escaped by rapid flights. *The charge, however, is not well substantiated, and is contrary to his general character and conduct* —p. 118.

The charge is proved on the evidence of the earliest and best authorities, and is in entire keeping with the character of Mohammed.

Not to weary the reader with the specification of inaccuracies, which abound everywhere, let us take two from the closing scene.

After the death of the prophet, “the body was placed in a magnificent tent.” \* \* \* When those preparations were completed, his family led the funeral procession, followed by the surviving companions of his flight, by the principal citizens of Mecca, and by a silent crowd of men, women, and children.”—(*Bombay Life*, p. 109 ; *London Life*, p. 84.)

This is pure imagination. The body was never removed from the little chamber in Ayesha's house, in which the prophet died, and there it was interred, under the couch on which he had breathed his last.

Throughout both works, there is an utter carelessness as to the correctness of the names ; the most palpable errors being admitted over and over again. As the most of these occur, both in the London and Bombay editions, it is evident, that the latter

has blindly copied from the former. The following are specimens of the mistakes common to both. *Jercera* for *Jezeera* : *Hamya* for *Hamza* : *Tajif* for *Tayif* : *Khuerai* for *Khazraj* : *Ledra* for *Sedra* : *Amru* for *Amru* : *Abdul Kahman* for *Abdul Rahman* : *Safiza* for *Safia* : *Ghaflan*, for *Ghatfan* : *Zeinah* for *Zeinab*. But the most curious instance is, the substitution repeatedly of *Hodeibirgia* for *Hodeibia*, the famous spot where the ten years' truce was concluded with the Coreish. So, also in quoting from Sura LIII. 8, the word "pulpit" has been inadvertently printed in the London edition (p 46) for "prophet," and the mistake has been copied in the Bombay edition!

The reader of Washington Irving ought to be cautioned against similar literal errors as *Otha* for *Otba*. *Gothreb* for *Yathreb*. *Raab* for *Kaab*. *Rueim* for *Nueim*, &c.

The historical part of the Bombay Life closes with the following paragraph.—

Such are the particulars that have come down to us of the life of Mohammed. The question arises, how far may we regard these accounts as trustworthy? When we consider that *Abulfeda*, the most judicious of Mohammed's biographers did not live till 700 years after Mohammed, we may naturally entertain doubts concerning many things that are recorded concerning him. What guarantee have we, that the legends invented long after the death of the pretended prophet, have not assumed the rank of historical facts? If it were not for the Koran, we would be utterly at a loss for ground to stand upon. Many chapters, and a multitude of passages in this, have evidently sprung out of particular exigencies in the career of Mohammed, and they very safely guide us to some knowledge of the event as to which they refer. And, perhaps, we may aver that we have a sufficiency of credible information, to enable us to form an estimate of his character, and to understand the means by which his religion became established in the world'—p 110.

The reference made in this passage to *Abulfeda*, is most inconclusive. With equal justice might it be applied to Charles the Fifth, and his historian Robertson—"when we consider that Robertson, the most judicious of Charles the Fifth's biographers, did not live till three centuries after him, we may naturally entertain doubts concerning many things that are recorded concerning him!" There were many credible historians of the emperor before Robertson, and many of the prophet also before *Abulfeda*.

The remainder of the paragraph is sound and important, but the truth it contains, ought to have been developed, and not barely stated. It is evident, that a philosophical discrimination of the classes of alleged historical facts, handed down by the traditions of the first and second centuries of the Hegira, and the assignment to each class of its real value, constitutes, along with the Koran, the true ground for a satisfactory biography.

phy of Mohammed. If the Mohammedan mind could be led to such critical study, it would rapidly produce distrust of the dogmas of Islam.

The concluding chapters of the Bombay biography, which contain general remarks upon the character and system of Mohammed, are, upon the whole, excellent, and the comparison with Christianity is striking and just. The estimate of the prophet is usually fair, but on some occasions it is too severe. While it is allowed that he deceived himself, lust and ambition are adduced, as the real and sole motives of his conduct. Doubtless, he was moved also by other less questionable principles of action: doubtless, he commenced with the sincere, and, perhaps, single, desire of setting forth *the truth*: and some vestiges of this sincerity unquestionably clung by him to the close of his career. It is not only unjust, but highly inexpedient, to indulge in such strong and unqualified abuse as the following:—

But Mohammed shadowed these truths, by mixing them with fables, contradictions and blasphemies: with foolish mummeries, and with fierce and bloody principles, and the entire system was moulded to the one base purpose of bringing the sanctions of religion to support his schemes of lust and conquest.—*Bombay Life* p. 159

Our chief object in discussing the subject now, is to show the inexpediency of publishing any Vernacular version of the *Bombay Life of Mohammed* in its present state. Much it contains that is admirable, and well-suited to the natives of India; but it requires a careful revision: the numerous errors in the biographical detail, should first be rectified by native authority, the gaps and meagre slurring over of important passages, should be filled in and completed, and a more equal proportion imparted to the various incidents, before it is presented to the Mohammedan or the Hindu public.

It is, indeed, high time for us to bestir ourselves, and give to our native fellow subjects a Vernacular life of the prophet of Arabia. We have as yet presented them with nothing of the kind: and their own current biographies of Mohammed are the veriest inanities, which, by any possibility, could be imagined.

To give some idea of the style of these biographies, it may be advisable to present extracts from a treatise in Urdu, which has met with a favourable reception, and is much sought after by Mohammedans.

It is called MAULUD SHARIF, or "THE ENNOBLED NATIVITY," but is not confined to the birth or childhood of Mohammed. Three editions of this work now lie on our table, the first printed at Lucknow in the year 1265, Hegira,

(1843) containing 48 pp. royal octavo: the second at Cawnpore, in 1267, Hegira, (1845), 68 pp.: the third at Agra, in the present year, much enlarged, pp. 94. No less than ten or twelve editions are said to have been already printed at Lucknow.

The author is Ghulām Imām Shahīd, a polished and ornate writer of some celebrity, and formerly an officer of standing in the Court of Sudder Dewany, at Agra.

The work professes to be formed of traditions, each new story being introduced by the words *rivāyet hai*, or *naql hai*, "it is related," or "there is a narrative to the effect that," &c.

It is interspersed with pieces of poetry, generally in Persian, sometimes in Urdu, lauding Mohammed, and appealing to the hearts and affections of devout Moslems.

The great bulk of the book is composed of traditions of a late fabrication, such as are not to be found in the early biographies, as Hishāmī and Wāckidī; or are disfigured by gross additions. None of the early Arabic authorities appear to have been consulted, but such late and untrustworthy Persian works, as the *Rovzat ul Ahbab*, the *Madrij ul Nabūwat*, the *Maddrij ul Nubūwat*, &c. Moulvī Ghulām Imām of course ignores criticism in any shape.

The legends recorded in this biography are incredibly extravagant. The improbabilities are so great, that the most childish intellect, honestly exercised, would not, for a moment, entertain them. And yet all is told,—the visits of angels, and their conversations, scenes of Heaven and Hell, both past and prospective, and above all, that wild fiction, transcending mortal imagination, of Mohammed's existence cycles of years before the creation,—with unhesitating credence, as mere matters of fact. The first eight pages trace the progress of the "Light of Mohammed," from its first creation, to the conception of the prophet. After the usual introduction, the work opens thus:—

Ye that are lovers of the face of Mohammed, and ye that be enamoured with the curls of Ahmed, know and be well aware, that the light of Mohammed is the origin of all existing things, and the essence of every thing that hath a being: because that when it pleased the Great Creator to manifest his glory, he first of all created the light of Mohammed from the light of his own Unity: and from the light of Mohammed produced every existent being. Now this glorious personage was made the last of the prophets, solely on this account, that; as the rising sun chaseth away the splendours of the moon and stars, so doth the glory of the religion of Mohammed supersede all other religions; had, therefore, that pre-existent light displayed its brilliancy at the first, then would all other prophets have shrunk into obscurity, and been aborn of their Apostolic dignity.

After tracing this light into the form of a star, its history is interrupted by some stories such as the following:—

A tradition runs, that in the days of the children of Israel, there was a

sinful and flagitious man, who, for the space of 200 years, wearied every one by the enormity of his offences; when he died, they threw his corpse upon a dunghill—no sooner had this been done, than Gabriel coming to Moses, spake thus.—Thus saith the Almighty God, "This day my friend hath departed from the world, and the people have cast his corpse upon a dunghill. Now let that corpse be dressed and prepared for burial, without delay: and ye shall speak unto the children of Israel, that they forthwith recite the burial service over his bier, if they are desirous of pardon." Therefore, Moses marvelled exceedingly, and enquired why forgiveness was required; and God answered thus.—"The Lord well knoweth all the sins which that sinner hath, during these 200 years, committed, and verily he never could have been pardoned but one day this wicked man was reading the Towiat, and seeing thereto the name of the blessed Mohammed, he wept and pressed the page to his eyes. This honour and reverence shown to my beloved, was pleasing unto me, and from the blessed effects of that single act, I have blotted out the sins of the whole 200 years." Lovers of the blessed Mohammed! Rejoice in your hearts, and be assured, that love for the holy prophet,—the Lord of the creation, is in every possible condition the means of salvation.—p. 3

A tradition follows regarding the judgment day, the examinations of which are to be conducted solely with the object of showing to Mohammed, how much the Lord forgives for his sake! Again, when Adam sinned and fell, the sentence went forth to expel him from Paradise. He begged and prayed for pity, appealing, in every variety of way, to God's mercy and promise of future prophets. But it was of no avail; after every fresh entreaty, the command was repeated for the angels to carry him away. At last, as they were dragging him off, the blessed word passed his lips, "have mercy on me for the sake of Mohammed:" instantly the Lord commanded the angels to let him go, and even to treat him with reverence, "for he hath taken hold of a great intercessor, and his sins are forgiven for Mohammed's sake."

Where such absurd legends are received as facts, to what a state of superstitious credulity must the spiritual and intellectual faculties of the Mohammedans be reduced! Another example will suffice. Satan used every day to receive from an angel a blow upon his face, so severe, that the effects remained till the following day. When the Lord of creation, the prophet of Islam, appeared, Satan besought that he should not be shut out from the benefits of his advent, seeing that these are promised in the Koran to all creation: the Lord therefore commanded that from that day forward, the blow should be discontinued. "Oh Moslems, consider this! If the rejected Satan was delivered from these calamitous blows, by the appearing of the blessed Mohammed, what wonder that his followers shall be kept safe from the pains of hell-fire?"—p. 6.

After this digression, the history of the "Light of Mohammed"

is resumed. The following is a brief sketch of the wearisome details. When God wished to manifest himself, he formed the "Light of Mohammed," a thousand years before the creation. This light performed in the Heavens, the duties of circuit and obeisance for a long space of time. It was then formed into a substance, and divided into ten portions, viz., the throne, the tablet of decrees, the sun, moon, &c., and last of all, the SPIRIT OF MOHAMMED. This spirit spent 70,000 years in adoration about the throne of God, and 5,000 upon the foot-stool. Gabriel and other angels then descended, by order of the Lord, to obtain a small portion of the earth; and the earth, hearing the name of Mohammed, split asunder and produced from the spot of the prophet's grave, a white piece like camphor. This was then wrought up with aromatics into the essence of Mohammed's being, and carried round the worlds, by Gabriel, who sounded the glad tidings to all creation, "This is the earth of the beloved of the Lord of all worlds, the intercessor for the guilty," &c. Long before the creation of Adam, this remained suspended like a lamp, or sparkling star, from the highest Heavens. It was, in fact, the "Faith," which, according to the Koran, was offered to all creatures, but the responsibility was shunned by all. Rash men alone accepted it.

And thus the "Light of Mohammed" was given to man, and beamed forth from the forehead of Adam. It descended from generation to generation, through a favoured chain, and at last shone in the brow of Abdallah.

The prodigies related of Abdallah, may be imagined from the extravagancies of the preceding narrative. At times a brilliant lustre encircled every thing around him: the earth saluted him as "the Light of Mohammed," at his approach, the withered trees revived, and again drooped as he departed; the idol demons entreated him not to ~~co~~<sup>us</sup> bear and precipitate their destruction, and his father, Abdal <sup>I</sup> alib, prophesied, saying, "Hail Abdallah! From thy loins shall be begotten the lord of the prophets," &c.

Then follows the transfer of this light to Amina, Mohammed's mother. The night of Mohammed's conception was marked by prodigies in heaven and in earth: 200 damsels of the Coreish died of envy; the din of the angels' joy was heard even on earth: Gabriel affixed a green crescent to the caaba, &c.

The birth of Mohammed is at last recorded; pious Mohammedans are stirred up by hymns and prayers to rejoice and to bless the prophet. The prayers are composed of stale repetitions, but the hymns are curious, and might help to a model Christmas hymn, adapted to the native taste.

The following are a few specimens of wonders that followed the birth of Mohammed. Amina relates that she heard a fearful noise, which cast her into an agony of terror, but immediately a white bird came, and laying its wing upon her bosom, restored her confidence: she became thirsty, and anon a cup of a delicious beverage, white as milk, and sweet like honey, was presented by an unseen hand; heavenly voices, and the tread of steps, were heard around her, but no person was seen: a sheet was let down from heaven, and a voice proclaimed, that the blessed Mohammed was to be screened from mortal view: numerous birds of Paradise, with ruby beaks and wings of emerald, strutted along, regaling her with surpassing warbling; men from the mid heaven scattered aromas around her, &c.

No sooner was Mohammed born, than he prostrated himself on the ground, and raising his hands to heaven, prayed earnestly for the pardon of his people. He was then swept away in a cloud of light, and carried to the four quarters of creation, that all things might recognize the glories of Mohammed, and "know that in him all the excellencies of previous prophets centred;—the vicegerency of Adam; the beauty of Joseph; the grace of Jesus," &c.

Safia, Mohammed's aunt, was present at his birth: and testifies to six memorable incidents. *First*, the new-born prophet performed obeisance, and prayed with a slow and distinct voice, "Oh I <sup>am</sup> a <sup>ward</sup> of my people, pardon my people!" *Second*, <sup>ness</sup> that there is <sup>a</sup> tones, he repeat <sup>ord</sup> alone, "I <sup>hear</sup> with <sup>the</sup> apostle." *Third*, <sup>th</sup> God but th Mohammed obscured the <sup>lai</sup> <sup>mp</sup>. *Fourth*, she was a light of wash the new-born babe, when a voice from the unse to <sup>or</sup>ld said, "Oh Safia, trouble not thyself, I have sent <sup>for</sup> the blessed Mohammed washed and pure. *Fifth*, he was b <sup>h</sup> <sup>ty</sup> circumcised and with his navel cut. *Sixth*, on his holy bag <sup>am</sup> <sup>ic</sup> seal of prophecy was visible in letters of light, more resplendent than the morning star, viz., "There is no god, &c."

Three persons, brilliant as the sun, appeared from heaven. One held a silver goglet; the second an emerald tray; the third a silken towel; they washed him seven times, then blessed and saluted him with a glorious address as the prince of mankind.

Abdal Muttalib, was, at the time, in the caaba, where a number of prodigies and voices from the holy temple apprized him of the wonderful event. He instantly repaired to Amina, and finding the light departed from her, insisted on seeing his grand-child. She informed him that its invisible guardians

had ordered that no one should see it for three days. Abdal Muttalib thereupon fell into a rage, and threatened to kill either himself or her. She was about to produce the child, when one, with a drawn sword, stepped between, and exclaimed, that no mortal should set eyes upon the babe, until all the favoured angels had visited him. Abdal Muttalib was affrighted, and the sword dropped from his hands.

All the Kings of the earth were struck with dumbness, and remained inarticulate for a day and a night: the vault of Kesra was rent; fourteen of its battlements fell to the ground, &c.

After further prodigies of this description, there succeeds in great detail the story of Halima, the nurse of Mohammed. This legend, in its earliest recorded form, is given by Dr. Sprenger (p. 143) with a sufficiency of fabulous matter. It will not be doubted that Ghulâm Imám's version advances incomparably farther. A few of the marvels of the prophet's childhood may be added here:—

“ There is a tradition, that the Lord of the universe—the blessed Mohammed, used to advance as much in one day, as other children in a year. When two months old, he made himself understood by signs and beckonings; in the third month he arose of himself and stood upright; in the fourth he began to walk, taking hold of the wall, and in the fifth, without assistance; in the sixth month, he could walk fast, and in the seventh he could run; in the eighth month he could talk, and in the ninth speak with the most perfect eloquence. After the tenth month, he contended with the boys in archery, and, when in his second year, he appeared like a full-grown youth.”

Halima adds, that the first words which issued from his blessed mouth were the Creed: that he never took up anything in his hands without saying, “ in the name of the Lord:” that his infantile gear was never dirtied as is usual with children, nor ever required to be washed, &c.

Mohammed himself related to his uncle Abbas, in after years, that when an infant, his nurse happened to tie his hand rather tight, and that he wept sorely. But the moon addressed him thus, “ If a drop of thy tears falls to the earth, it will never again be green and fresh, until the judgment day;” “ so for the love of my people,” continued Mohammed, “ I refrained from crying, and the moon talking with me, kept me engaged with her in prattle, lest I should cry.” Abbas expressed his astonishment that his nephew should remember incidents that occurred when he was six weeks old; but Mohammed only added to his wonder, by telling him, that he perfectly recollects facts which happened when in his mother's womb. The noise of

the eternal pen on the tablet of fate, and the sound of the sun and moon making obeisance before the Almighty !

Next occurs a long description of Mohammed's person and manners, to which is appended the following notable illustration of Mohammedan superstition :—

Mohammed Hussain, manager of the *Mohammedy* press, respectfully urges upon all those who love the prophet of the Lord, that they transfer to the mirror of their hearts, this cumbred description of the personal appearance of the prophet, which is a literal translation from the traditions of Tirmidzy, in order that if perchance, in a true vision they should see the blessed prophet himself, they may know the vision to be a real one, and give thanks to the Lord for it. Because, according to his "own words, " whoso hath seen me, hath seen the truth," that is, "whoever hath seen me in a vision, hath really and truly seen me the blessed Mohammed," such an one shall escape the deceptions of Satan : for Satan is unable to assume the glorious appearance described above, but oft times, shows himself in other forms, and claiming to be a prophet, beguiles the ignorant worshippers, in their visions and reveries —p. 21.

The legend of Mohammed's chest being opened, follows in detail. And after that, the death of Amina and of Abdal Muttabib ; Abu Tâlib's guardianship; Mohammed's marriage ; the fits of inspiration ; the conversion of the early Moslems, &c., are all disposed of, with a few meagre and apocryphal notices, in two pages ! On the subject of miracles our author finds a more congenial theme.

To give one hundredth, or even a thousandth part of the notorious *miracles* performed by the holy prophet —Even if the waves of the ocean were turned into pens, its waters into ink, and the expanse of heaven into one vast scroll,—would be utterly impossible. The least of them are as follows.—p. 21

This grandiloquent opening is but faintly sustained. The absence of all shadow, (which is followed by a most blasphemous application :\*) the splitting of the moon : that birds would not fly over, nor flies alight, on him : the evidence of a corpse interred 100 years before, of the stones, of a porpoise, and of a golden peacock, which issued from the rocks, are stated to be too notorious to require farther description. But the author, as is usual, enters into a very copious detail of the *Mirâj*, or heavenly ascent, which occupies eleven pages. The absurdities and extravagancies of this narration are inconceivable, but it is needless to recount them.

\* "Ahl ye who love the blessed Mohammed 'a beautiful thought, of the amorous class, here occurs to me, which will be pleasing to the pure-hearted *sûfîs*. It is this, that God Almighty declareth himself to be in love with the great source of love (Mohammed : ) but the lover doth not like to see his beloved accompanied by a shadow :—

" No shadow near thee let me see,  
Lest love beget fond jealousy !"—p. 26.

Passing over the rest of his Meccan history, and the whole of his Medina career, the author hastens to the last scenes of the prophet's life, which he deems it necessary to introduce in an apologetic strain, as if it were a matter of astonishment "that he, for whom Adam, nay for whom 18,000 worlds, were created," should be required to die. The death-bed account is made up as usual of a number of apocryphal traditions and conversations. Gabriel visits the prophet with messages of condolence and enquiry from the Lord; and he offers him life and health, should he desire it: at last, he comes to him, accompanied by Azrael, the angel of death, whom Fatima takes to be an Arab, and refuses to admit. Gabriel delivers his message, that Azrael was commanded, implicitly, to obey the prophet's orders, and either take his spirit, or retire at once, as he preferred. Mohammed, in consternation and distress, applies for counsel to Gabriel, who then pictures to him the glories of Paradise, "the black-eyed houries adorned from head to foot, and waiting in expectation of his glorious approach," the safety of his people secured through his merits and intercession, &c. Mohammed, re-assured by these exciting prospects, gives the command to Azrael, and dies.

Till the hour of his burial, a thick darkness overspread Medina, so that one could not see his hand or his neighbour's face;\* when Abbas lifted up the winding sheet, the lips of the deceased prophet were seen to move, and to repeat the same prayer for his people, as issued from his lips when newly born. The angels offered to convey his body to Paradise, but Mohammed preferred not to be separated from the creatures he had come to save; a fact which is thus improved:—

Ye lovers of Mohammed! consider for a moment the wonderful compassion and grace, which showered such favours upon us, unworthy handfuls of the dust! verily, it is incumbent upon us to sacrifice our very selves for the sake of such a compassionate intercessor, and to become ennobled by visiting his glorious tomb, and sacred resting place — p. 48.

There is much more in this strain: but we have already trespassed too far. Two more extracts will suffice:—

In his last illness, Mohammed entered the mosque of Medina, which was filled to overflowing; and as his final request, he besought that if any one had suffered wrong or injury at his hands, he would there, without ceremony, declare it, and taking retribution for the injury done, thus enable

\* This is a good illustration of the way in which such marvellous stories grew up. The genuine traditions of Wâokidy speak of the *gloom* (social) cast over Medina by Mohammed's death: this was transformed into a *physical* gloom; and that again magnified into *thick darkness*. The anonymous Urdu life quoted before, gives the following correct tradition. "Anis (Mohammed's servant) said, that no day was so light as that in which Mohammed entered Medina, and none so dark and dismal as that in which he died." The metaphor became a fact.

him to go to Heaven with an easy conscience. Hearing this, Okâsha exclaimed, " Oh Prophet of the Lord, on a certain stage, when marching with thee, thou once, without due cause, scourgedst my back. I should never have desired retribution, but when thou so straitly commandest, I felt it incumbent upon me to declare the matter." The prophet answered : " The Lord have mercy upon thee, Okâsha ! Dost thou desire retribution ? " " Yea : apostle of God ! " Then the Lord of the universe, the blessed Mohammed, commanded Balâl to go to Fatima's house, and " bring with thee," said he, " that scourge, which I used to take with me in the war." Balâl, in consternation and distress, proceeded to that noble lady's house, and brought the scourge. Then the prophet made it over to Okâsha, and sitting in the yard of the mosque said, " the mercy of the Lord be upon thee, Okâsha ! Take thy retribution, without fear or favour." Okâsha receiving the whip, prepared himself to administer stripes upon the prophet. But a mighty noise, like that of the judgment day, arose from the assembled throng. The prophet's companions, one after another, stepped forward, and expostulated with Okâsha on the fearful temerity of scourging Mohammed, the messenger of God, who was moreover in so infirm a state, and close upon his heavenly journey. They offered to receive upon their own backs a thousand lashes in his stead ; but Okâsha replied, that vicarious retribution was not permitted by the Lord. At last Mohammed, becoming impatient, said " perform thy work quickly, oh Okâsha ! God forbid that death should rob me of the opportunity, and that this claim should remain against me to all eternity."

Okâsha replied, " Oh blessed of the Lord ! when thou scourgedst me I was naked, and thou art at this time clad in raiment." The blessed prophet thereupon took off his raiment, and forthwith the whole assembly burst into the wildest grief and passionate lamentation ; and the angels nearest to the Throne, poured forth their deprecations, expostulating with the Lord, &c.

At last Okâsha arose, and kissed the seal of prophecy,—the signet of apostleship : and then he spake as follows, " Oh, beloved of the Lord ! It was my earnest desire that at thy last breath, I should be ennobled by looking upon the seal of prophecy ; and by the stratagem of retribution, I have obtained this blessed fortune, and neither didst thou, most holy prophet, ever touch me with the scourge, nor could I have had the temerity, really, to demand retribution."

The prophet invoked a blessing upon Okâsha, and departed to his own abode.—p. 88.

It is hardly necessary to add that this, from beginning to end, is a pure work of fancy, and that the early traditions contain not a vestige of the tale.

The following is a common type of the childish legends, by which the later traditionists have endeavoured to discredit our scriptures :—

A narrator relates, that there was, in the kingdom of Syria, a Jew, who, while busily engaged one Sabbath day in perusing the Old Testament, perceived the name of the blessed prophet written in four places ; and out of spite he cast that leaf into the fire. On the following day, he found the same name written in eight places ; again he burnt the page. On the third day he found it written in twelve places. The man marvelled exceedingly, saying within himself, " the oftener I cut out this name from the Old Testament, the more do I find it written therein. If I go on at this rate, I shall soon have the entire scriptures filled with the name." At last he

became desirous of visiting the prophet, and filled with this anxiety, by day and by night, he travelled from stage to stage, till he reached Medina.

The story goes on to say, that when he arrived, Mohammed had been dead three days. His followers concealed the fact from the Jews, fearing it might stagger his faith. At last, learning the truth, he tumbled senseless on the ground, beating his head and calling out "Alas! alas! my journey is in vain. Would I had never been born!" He then entreated to be shown the clothes Mohammed wore, and they were brought forth from Fatima's house, patched in seven places. Immediately he smelled the fragrance of them, and clasping them to his eyes, exclaimed, "Let my soul be a sacrifice to the sweetness of thy fragrance, oh Mohammed! Alas, that I missed the sight of thee!" He then repaired to the tomb repeated the creed and prayed thus "If my cry be accepted in the court of heaven, then call me, this very moment, to the presence of my beloved!" He fell to the ground, exclaiming, oh Mohammed! oh Mohammed! and expired in the arms of his love — p. 46

It may be thought, that far too much attention and space have been allotted to this pitiful work. But a little reflection will justify the pains we have devoted to it.

The book is a type of the Mohammedan mind of India; — credulous beyond belief. It is an important illustration of the position laid down in a previous number of this *Review*,\* that although Mohammedans are captious, and pseudo-critical to the utmost, when attacking other religions, they are incredibly simple and superstitious, it may be wilfully blind, in reference to their own faith.

This biography has been favourably received by the mass of the people: it has been eagerly bought up, and has gone through repeated editions.† It therefore bears the stamp of popular approval. Farther, its author is a man of letters and intelligence: for many years he held a ministerial office in our highest court of judicature; and was there promoted to an honourable post, implying that he possessed more than usual intelligence and ability. The work of such a man may fairly be viewed as a gauge of the *educated* and *literary* mind of India.

Regarded thus, as an index of the ideas and dogmas, against which we have to contend, too much stress cannot be laid upon such treatises. It is incumbent upon us to know well our adver-

\* No VIII p. 470

† The last edition was forwarded to us by the publisher, at Agra, just as this article was going to press, with the following note "The work Maulud Sharif, composed by our patron, Ghulam Imran Shahid, is well known throughout every kingdom and district. In such demand is it, that ten or twelve editions, and thousands of copies have been printed at Lucknow, and are still being printed. There will be found hardly a village or town in the country whither this book has not reached." This is, no doubt, somewhat exaggerated, but it is still proof of immense popularity! The new Agra edition is considerably enlarged, containing ninety-four quarto pages. A great deal of Urdu poetry has been added to it.

saries' ground ; and it is only by such enquiries as the present, that we can hope to reconnoitre it.

It is very sad to find, amongst educated men, so utter a want of the faculty of historical criticism, as we see here. With such persons, our great difficulty will lie in placing before them the means for discriminating the grains of truth from the masses of fabricated traditions. The Bombay biography has but alluded to the subject. Even for the unbiassed mind and intelligence of the European, the work of disentangling truth from falsehood in these traditions, is one encompassed by great difficulties : how much more difficult then to lead the Mohammedans themselves, to such principles of criticism ! It is however a task, towards which much has been contributed already, by the studies of our learned men ; and we should not shrink from its farther prosecution.

The consideration of this subject is also useful, in pressing upon us the necessity of extreme care, that the historical details which we place before the natives, are thoroughly correct. Under the best possible auspices, they will receive our advances with distrust, and our criticism with incredulity. But if we give to them such histories as our English "*Lives of Mohammed*" have generally been, we shall place ourselves in a still worse position. Perceiving want of accuracy in our relations, and imperfection in our means of information, they will naturally doubt all our assertions, and summarily deny our conclusions. But if, on the contrary, we carefully avail ourselves of the original sources of knowledge, which the investigations of a Spenger and a Weil have placed in our hands,—(sources as good as any open to them, and far better than those to which they are in the habit of referring,) they will be compelled to give credit to our facts, and to listen with deference to our conclusions.

If we can, from their own books, prove to them that they are deceived and superstitious in many important points, and can thus establish the untenability of some of their positions ;—while we at the same time admit those statements which are grounded in fact ;—we shall have gone a great way to excite honest inquiry, and to induce the sincere investigator to follow our lead.

The native mind is at present not insensible to the subject. The Urdu biography of Ghulâm Imām is, by no means, a solitary instance. There are many others. One of the most remarkable is, perhaps, that which appears weekly in an Urdu newspaper, the *Asad ul Ambar*,—published at Agra. Even since its commencement, on the 7th June, 1847, the biography of Mohammed has formed the leading article of this paper, and the sub-

ject is not yet concluded. This biography is consequently much more extensive and elaborate than Ghulām Imām's "nativity," and goes in great detail into all the historical traditions and legendary narratives. These are translated from the late and credulous Persian biographers of Mohammed, whose narratives are possessed of no historical weight whatever.\*

That an article on the biography of Mohammed, should have regularly appeared for the last five years, as the leader in a miscellaneous Urdu newspaper, is certainly not one of the least remarkable signs of the times, and warrants the hope, that intelligent and thinking Mohammedans are turning their attention to the historical evidences of their faith, and are comparing them with those of Christianity.

These stirrings, however, of the native mind, bear but indirectly upon Christianity. Let us enquire what has been done of late directly towards the MOHAMMEDAN CONTROVERSY. And first it may be stated, that large reprints of Mr. Pfander's treatises, both in Urdu and Persian, have been published during the last few years. This has been effected by the contributions of the public (to whom an appeal was, not in vain, made in a former number of this *Review*,) and by the ever liberal aid of the noble London Tract Society.

The long threatened work of Mr. Pfander's opponent, Syad Ali Hassan,† made its appearance in 1261, Hegira (A. D. 1845). It contains 806 large octavo pages; and is denominated "KITAB ISLIMSAR," or the BOOK OF QUESTIONS. It is written in an easy but desultory style, rambling from one subject to another, with little logical precision or arrangement.

\* The editor, Camrūd Dīn, is not very familiar with Arabic, but even had he been qualified to consult the original Arabic authorities, it is doubtful whether he would have done so, as the Persian writers, with their marvellous additions, are the authorities generally referred to by natives. The earlier portion of the article, is translated from the *Maddārij al Nubūwāt*, the later from the *Rawzat al Akhbār*. Camrūd Dīn was long employed by Mr. Pfander, and assisted him in translating his works into Urdu. He is therefore thoroughly acquainted with the Christian arguments. His style is very neat and elegant.

† See no. VIII. of this *Review*, p. 450, where notice was given that Ali Hassan "is now printing a work at Lucknow in refutation of Christianity, and in defence of the Koran, at which he has been labouring for fifteen years, and which is, by the way, to contain a full reply to the *Mu'min* as well as the *Din Haqq*." It was stated in the same article, that this author, as well as Ghulām Imām, was an officer in the Sudder Court at Agra. After publishing his book, and holding his controversy with Mr. Pfander, he was promoted to the independent post of Mānsif, or native judge;—a fact which must have satisfactorily proved to his countrymen that, under the Company's Government, every man is free to hold, and publicly to maintain, his own religious views, without prejudice to his worldly prosperity, or official standing. Since that time, however, both he and Ghulām Imām have been obliged to resign their posts, and the Company's service, in consequence of their having been implicated in the accusations lately brought against the ministerial officers of the court.

The first four questions, occupying forty-six pages, are devoted to the refutation of the doctrine of the Trinity. The next ten, extending over 137 pages, attack the genuineness and authority of the Bible. The main argument here is deduced from variations in the different oriental versions,—each variety in the translations being triumphantly adduced as evidence of variety and corruption in the *original!* The word of man, it is asserted, is mingled with the word of God, throughout our scriptures; and, unlike the Koran, there is no proof that every writer was inspired. There is farther no proof of the early existence of the several books, from the time of the prophets to whom they are attributed, to the period of publication; *e. g.*, from the time of Ezra to Ptolemy, and from that of the Apostles to Constantine.

The fifteenth question, or proposition, asserts, that the miracles of Mohammed are the only ones of any prophet that can be proved by testimony, those of all others being dependent upon his evidence, (pp. 183—245.) The sixteenth holds that, notwithstanding the corruption of the Bible, it contains more prophecies in favour of Mohammed than in favour of Christ. This subject is treated at great length, and with much sophistry, (pp. 245—385.)

The seventeenth and main proposition is that the same objections may be brought against Moses, Jesus, and the other prophets, and their books, as against Mohammed. Under this head is embraced the refutation of the Mizán, and Din Haqq (pp. 385—709.)

The eighteenth proposition closes the book, with a chapter on the beauties and excellencies of Islam.

This work is written in pleasing language, and in a more respectful style than generally characterizes such productions: but this praise is only comparative; for religious bigotry and ignorant pride often overbear the author's natural good feeling, and dictate passages respecting Christianity, "which the dogmas, even of Islam, should have led him to shrink from. Added to the usual materials brought forward by Mohammedans on such occasions, there is an ostentatious display of some shallow English learning, and ideas which the author has picked up from translations and conversation. On the whole, the spirit of the work, though abounding with the usual blasphemies which make the ears of Christians to tingle, is better and more reasonable than we usually find. A few specimens, taken pretty much at random, will, perhaps, be interesting to the reader.

Thirteen pages are spent in labouring to prove that Mohammed is "the prince of this world," spoken of in the New Testament. In disposing of the objections to this view, he endeavours to explain away John v. 19. "The whole world lieth

*in wickedness* : finding that other versions translate the latter words " *in the wicked one*," he adds :—

Behold ! Two copies give it one way, and three the other. To which shall the preference be given ? How conclusively the corruption of the original text is here proved ! This is what I call corruption, (*tahrit*) — p. 386.

In treating of the variations, or as he will have it, corruptions of the MSS. of the Bible, such arguments as the following frequently occur :—

Urbanus VIII., of the Romish Church, Sergius Haroun and other learned Christians, admit, that in the original manuscripts, both Hebrew and Greek, some degrees of corruption has crept in, and that words and modes of construction, opposed to the genius of the original languages, are found in these books. See now, how my argument is proved by confession of the defendants ! There is this attempted explanation, indeed, that these errors originated in the carelessness of the writers, or want of ability in the translators. But such a fanciful theory cannot impugn the confirmation afforded by this concession, to my claim. Again they say that the Holy Ghost, and the prophets themselves, were accustomed to write in this strange and erroneous manner (*ghalat palat*) But this is in effect my very argument, "that" (in the words of the Koran) "they write passages with their hands and then say this is from the Lord," i. e., they say of what they have themselves composed, that it is the word of God. Now to attribute such errors to the Holy Ghost and to the prophets, is the same as attributing them to God — p. 419.

He endeavours to rebut Mr. Pfander's argument, that the Bible was from an early date in the hands of multitudes throughout the world, and that it was impossible all should unite in corrupting it, in the following manner :—

Twelfth proof. It is evidently *possible* that any book, say the *Shah Nama*, might be in the hands of every man throughout the whole world, and that every man might, in his own place, make the same alteration therein. This is not an intellectual impossibility at the very most it would be a miracle. Seeing, then, that this is not a logical impossibility the proof of it might be established by the same species of evidence as that by which the mission of Moses or Jesus is established.—that is to say, by him who is endowed with prophecy, and showed evident miracles,—the last of the prophets,—and who hath evidenced both facts equally by an inspired declaration.

Seeing how that copies of the Bible, at that early epoch, were not spread abroad to so great an extent as is now the case, but remained for the most part in the hands of those alone whose perfidy was foretold by Jesus and his Apostles, and that it afterwards reached you, through those regarding whom you yourselves testify, that for centuries they held an undivided power and authority over that book, it results that its corruption would not amount even to a miracle, and must consequently be admitted on the testimony of the prophet of Islam ; and under any circumstances, the assertions of such corruption cannot be regarded as reflecting on the prophetic claim of Mohammed (as if he had advanced an intellectual impossibility.)

And the great injustice, and departure from right, which ye commit, is this, that ye do not regard the assertion of a logical impossibility to be an argument against a claim to prophecy, while you here hold the assertion of a simple miracle to be so. That is to say, the statement of the Incarnation and manifestation of God, and of the equality of that which is produced to

that which produces it, (as you hold with regard to Jesus on the authority of the Bible,) is not regarded by you as falsifying the claim to prophecy, and yet ye hold a statement regarding the corruption of the Bible, which would not amount even to a common miracle, to be a disproof of the prophetic rank of the blessed prophet of Islam. Verily, this is a marvellous thing — pp. 488—440

Mr. Pfander had referred to the evidence of the Koran as proving that our Scriptures were not altered prior to Mohammed's appearance, and to the evidence of ancient manuscripts, that they had not been altered since. The following is an example of the way in which Ali Hassan endeavours to avoid this conclusion:—

According to the above interpretation of the passage\* (Sura xviii, v. 8,) it might indeed be held that the *propheteis* regarding the last of the prophets, were not corrupted until his appearance, else why were the people in expectation of his coming and ready to believe upon him? My reply is, that even supposing this argument to be correct, all that would be proved therefrom, would be that only those passages containing predictions of Mohammed remained uncorrupted until his appearing, not by any means, that throughout the whole Bible no other passage had been corrupted. The padre's deduction that the *entire* Bible remained intact, thus falls to the ground.

And if any one say that the passages which contain those predictions (thus asserted in the Koran to have been altered after Mohammed's appearing) are still identically the same with the corresponding places in the ancient manuscripts to which the padre has referred, my reply is that the naked claim of the padre, as to the existence of manuscripts thirteen or fifteen hundred years old, is not worthy of being listened to, especially as his stories, contradictions, and bigotry, have already been fully exposed. That paper and writing should remain so many ages, and yet be legible, would be miraculous indeed. Some pope, or other such personage, in order to cast suspicion on the Mussulmans, must have produced forged manuscripts, and declared they were older than the time of Mohammed. It is moreover very unlikely that the character of such a manuscript could be even decyphered by any one now-a-days. *pp. 448, 449.*

To Mr. Pfander's account of the ancient manuscripts of the New Testament, the Vatican, Alexandrine, &c., and explanation of their value, Ali Hassan makes the following reply:—

It is evident that the padre sahib is not on terms of intimacy with any of the distinguished gentlemen who preside in our courts, otherwise he would have known, that if contending parties adduce ancient documents in favour of their claims, no reliance whatever can be placed on the mere antiquity of the paper, and of the date. If then in worldly matters the oldness of the paper is no test of the age of the writing, how shall it become a test in religious affairs? And, especially, is this to be doubted, when we recollect that the heads of the Christian religion, in those days, were not such as we find the English gentlemen now to be, but were very perfidious and deceptive in their faith, such as those whom they call "Popes" and "Popes." Therefore, until due proof be advanced, I cannot concede the

\* "Neither were those who possessed the Scriptures, divided among themselves, until after the clear evidence (Islam) had come unto them." See Hale's note.

ancientness of these manuscripts, as assumed by the padre. And the more so, as such a conclusion would be in opposition to the commentators of the Bible, Uribanus VIII &c, for if these ancient manuscripts be really genuine, whence and how came the corruptions of the text, which they admit to exist. But all this reasoning would only then be necessary, if it were really admitted, that the padre spoke the truth, and that these manuscripts really do exist, and bear the date of completion inscribed on them, and are clearly legible; otherwise, the whole statement seems to me to be unfounded. —pp. 461, 465.

With respect to the writings of the fathers, and the quotations from the Scriptures contained therein, the following is one of his replies:—

It is evident, from the way in which the reverend gentleman speaks, that these books are not written like our commentaries, which give the whole text piecemeal, but that the words of Jesus are quoted in them as in our scientific or religious works, in which the Koran and the traditions are often referred to. But where have I ever held that the *whole* of the Old and New Testaments has been altered, or that the pure Gospel was not written by some of the Apostles? Thus even admitting, which I do not, that these books are really true and correct, and the authority of their writers acknowledged, their correspondence with the manuscripts handed down, would neither injure my argument nor benefit yours — pp. 168, 459

The Moulvi's remarks on the advantages of conquest, and its legality, as a means of spreading Islam, are very curious, especially as he makes many references to occidental history, to the spread of Christianity in Britain under Edgar, and to its present favourable prospects under the prestige of British victory in India.

In concluding his answer to the *Mizân* <sup>pas</sup> *Haqq*, he explains why he has not quoted his adversary at <sup>been</sup> <sup>and</sup> <sup>reviously des</sup> word for word. "If these unprof' <sup>tv.</sup> confined by the padres, to two o' treatises, and they were such sort of people that wheight thay bundlessness of their assertions had once been proved, <sup>to</sup> <sup>the</sup> their padres would hide their heads, and English gentle<sup>agos</sup> would keep them back from advancing such absurdities in <sup>trees</sup> <sup>Ch</sup>ure, —then, indeed, there were some object in replying to their arguments word by word. But such is far from being the case: nay, thousands of padres earn their bread by this very trade, and their livelihood consists in attacking the religions of other people, —quite apart from the consideration of whether those religions are supported by reason or not. They are constantly writing and printing new treatises, without any sort of rational ground; but simply, in order to support their families, they labour night and day at this work. Besides, if you prove never so well the unreasonableness of a padre's statements, it seems to have no effect whatever upon any other Christian, and no one endeavours to persuade such a writer to give up

these irrational arguments. Seeing therefore that it does not constitute *our* livelihood to spread abroad religion, and that English gentlemen, though they be lovers of fair argument, yet maintain only these padres in their service, and give nothing to the professors of *other* religions, for the same purpose, say, how can it be expected of us to reply word for word to the arguments of these padres? Indeed, we ought to regard ourselves as fortunate in not being hindered by the officers of the Sirkar Company, from replying even to the pith of our adversaries' objections; and such of these officers as are of a philosophical turn of mind, can themselves appreciate a well-framed refutation. The real objections, too, are, in fact, confined to narrow ground; it seemed, therefore sufficient to reply only to them."—pp. 605—607.

Ali Hassan does not treat the *Din Haqq* with so much respect even as the *Mizan ul Haqq*.

"Know," says he, "that whatever grounds of reasonable dispute,—such as they are,—the Christians have against the Moslems, are (along with much unreasonable matter) contained in the *Mizan ul Haqq*. Now as to the other treatise,—the *Din Haqq ki tahqiq*, wherever in some little measure it is the shadow of certain portions of the *Mizan ul Haqq*, it is upon the whole reasonable. But the remaining, and by far the greatest portion, is much more unreasonable than the unreasonable statements of this *Mizan*."—p. 607.

We had marked many other passages for translation, but shall confine ourselves to one only.

The author of the *Din Haqq*, after alluding to the prophecies and historical timonics, Jewish, Roman and Christian, in favour of Christ of stealth, adds that the Koran opposes them all, and that "if" 448, "no man had had the slightest acquaintance with history, he could never have written so."

The Moulvi denies in, A predictions, and proceeds thus:—  
"The padre does not perceive that the Koran itself admits, nay expressly asserts, the fact that both Jews and Christians hold the crucifixion of Jesus; and yet he writes, that the author of the Koran was unacquainted with this historical fact! such a babbler shall have his answer from the Lord. Reflect for a moment, and hide your face with confusion. Say, what advantage could he, who gave forth the Koran, possibly have in view, when he asserted, in opposition to a vast and influential multitude, that Jesus was not slain, but had ascended to Heaven in his mortal body! Had he made his assertion to accord with the views of these immense multitudes, then indeed he had gained an object, viz., the lessening of their opposition, and he had obtained likewise, an argument to strengthen his opposition to the Divinity of Christ (drawn

" from the fact of his mortality.")"—p. 637. He proceeds to say that the Gospel is perfectly correct, because the *semblance* of Christ was actually taken and crucified; "but there is no reply—" he adds, "to the argument you bring against us, viz., that 'where we agree with the Bible, it is plagiarism — where we disagree, it is false!'"\* No less than eighteen pages are devoted to the explaining away, with extraordinary sophistry and disingenuousness, the plain declarations of the Gospel on the subject of the crucifixion; but it is needless to multiply examples of this style of reasoning. It has rather been our object to give specimens of the more uncommon and less unreasonable portions of the book.

In 1847, Mr. Pfander published a treatise called "HALL UL ISHKAL" ("the solution of difficulties"), "A reply to KASHF UL ASRAR and KITAB I ISTIFSAR." The *Kashf ul Astar* has already been noticed at some length in No. VIII. of this *Review*. Mr. Pfander's rejoinder is brief and pertinent, occupying eighty-four lithographed pages. It is followed by a translation of the remarks on the *Kashf ul Astar* which appeared in this *Review*. Then follow ten questions put to Mr. Pfander by a Moulvi Syad Abdallah Sabzwari of Lucknow, with their replies.† After these comes the reply to Ali Hassan's *Kitab i Istifsar*, the work we have just been reviewing, (p. 99—164.) The chief points of the Moulvi's desultory attacks are ably noticed and well refuted. The book concludes with the entire correspondence, which passed between Mr. Pfander and Ali Hassan, and which has been previously described in the No. referred to above.‡

\* It may be profitable to observe in what light this Moulvi regards one of our social practices, that of dancing.

He endeavours to turn the tables against the *Div. Hagg*, in which are advanced some just strictures upon certain indecent practices in the Koran, by asserting that we are in the habit of instituting indecent practices by the authority of the Bible.

"Miram's dancing with cymbals is adduced by Christians as proving the innocence of any kind of dancing, and supported by this and other instances in the Bible, your countrymen take their wives, daughters, and sisters, to dancing parties, and regard the custom as one approved by religion. Now, you look upon the dancing of the grown-up daughters, sisters, and wives of other people, and passing the hand round their waists, pretty much in the same light as we do for men to shake hands with each other, or to fondle little children, — i.e., as right and proper. If it be really thus as I have heard, and such things are, in truth, not held by you to be forbidden by the Divine law, then it is deep disgrace to you."—p. 622.

This passage (of which from necessity we have softened some of the expressions) shows that either the Moulvi's informants at his own bigotry have greatly misrepresented our social practices; still it is matter for serious consideration whether some of our dances—e.g. the Polka and the Waltz, do not really offer to the Mussulmans a vulnerable point, of which they are not slow to avail themselves in their attacks upon our faith, and in bolstering them in their self-conceit with their own.

† A translation of these, appeared in the *Christian Intelligencer*, and the same of some correspondence in that Journal.

‡ Vol. IV. No. VIII., p. 642.

Mr. Pfander has not, since the publication of this volume, entered into any farther written discussions with the Mohammedans. But although this controversy is for the present suspended,—and it is perhaps well that it should be so for a time,—it must not be supposed that the native mind is inactive, or that the attention of intelligent and thinking men is withdrawn from the subject.

The following extracts from the Report of the Agra Tract Society for 1852 will be read with interest, as giving satisfactory evidence on this point:—

At Dehli copies of the scriptures, and Christian books of a controversial character, have been in great demand, in consequence of the controversy between some Hindus and the Qazi, mentioned above. Many Mohammedans seem to have been aroused from the slumber of their blind confidence in their pretended prophet and his book, by the astounding fact now presented to them, that they are attacked not by the Christians only, but even by the Hindus, and that with a result not in any way flattering to themselves. To prepare for the battle, they have taken themselves to reading our books, many, no doubt, with a desire to find arguments against us; but still this excitement amongst them can only be viewed with interest, and we cannot but hope that it will have a beneficial result in some way or other.

A Hindu friend at Dehli, through whom many Mohammedans have received tracts and books, writes on the subject: "I beg to inform you that I have received the books you forwarded to me. They have all been given away to learned Mussulmans, who required them very earnestly. At their own request, I made over to them all copies of the Mizan ul Haqq I had; I have even been obliged to give them my own copy. But they require still <sup>more</sup> ~~more~~ remarks, "In my <sup>reptly</sup>, I beg that you will send me <sup>more</sup> ~~more~~ a great number of small pamphlets, containing that part of the Mizan ul Haqq, which shows that Mohammed performed no miracle, and that also the Koran is no miracle. This will bring numerous Moslem readers to one point, a point which is quite sufficient to show that they have no firm ground to stand upon in defending their creed. It is this point in which the Mohammedan religion is most palpably vulnerable. The ignorance of this very subject, in my opinion, makes the majority of the Mussulmans think, that Mohammed was as good a prophet as Moses and Christ."

In a subsequent letter he writes: "A learned Mohammedan of Kurnaul has written a large work, of about 600 pages, the chief object of which appears an attempt to show that the same objections which Christians make to the Koran, can be reverted to the Bible. He has studied, I believe, with great care, all procurable translations of the Bible in Arabic, Persian and Urdu, and all controversial works, and he is very probably sincere in his enquiries. As to his book, part of which I have read, I think he will find that he is highly mistaken."

"The other day I saw two Mohammedans disputing among themselves about the objections contained in the Mizan ul Haqq, regarding the miracle of Mohammed. One of them was endeavoring to solve the difficulties; but the other was altogether disengaged with his explanations."

The same intelligent Hindu, with another Hindu co-adjutor (both of them, by the way, specimens of the good effects that may be produced by the system of education pursued in our Government Colleges,) has himself entered the lists with the Mohammedans. The following account of a controversy held by them with the Qazi of Dehli, is extracted from the same Report :—

*A Controversy between a Hindu, and Qazi of Dehli.*—This is a very interesting argument: it is the one referred to at page 12 of the last year's Report: and was made over to the Committee by the Hindu, who is desirous that it should be printed. It is entirely aggressive on the part of the Hindu, who carries the battle into Mohammedan territory; the chief ground occupied, being the insufficiency of the evidence for the miracles alleged to have been wrought by Mohammed. The argument opens with a short paper by the Hindu, who states his doubts, especially as regards the "splitting of the moon," and asks for evidence. The Qazi answers in a paper of considerable length, endeavoring to bolster up the tottering edifice of traditions; and to explain away the damaging admissions which pervade the Koran. The Hindu rejoins in a long paper, in which he completely demolishes the Qazi's argument, proceeds to impugn the morality of the Koran, and closes with a decided expression of preference for Christianity and its evidences. The Qazi made no reply.

The Committee are preparing a short paper by way of conclusion, and opportunity will be taken to add something on the insufficiency of the historical evidence in support of the Mohammedan traditions. The Committee trust that this publication will be received with acceptance by the Hindu community, and with interest by all.

This work is now in the press: an <sup>eloquent</sup> <sup>most</sup> important document was placed in the hands of the Committee in time to be added as an appendix. It consists of twenty-three <sup>queries</sup> sent by a Mohammedan of Kerach, to his brother Moslems, with the view of eliciting proofs—if any exist—of the truth of Islam. The paper opens thus:—

"I was born a Mohammedan, and, at my twenty-fourth year, am still of the same religion: but I now perceive by the exercise of my intellect, that the Mohammedan religion is false, and the Christian true: because there is no proof whatever of the inspiration of Mohammed." He proceeds to state that he considers Islam to be wanting in evidence and miracles; that there can be but one true religion in the world given by God, and that if he neglects that, he incurs the perils of hell. "Therefore I am urged by the fear of future punishment to ask the sages of Islam, if their religion be really true, to prove it to me. And it is their <sup>undeniable</sup> duty either to prove or to forsake it. With this view I have prepared a few questions for my own peace of mind, and entreat a fair and reasonable answer, such as shall aid me in reaching the truth. May the

" Almighty direct me to Himself, and let Him not be displeased with me!"

We believe this to be the genuine effusion of an anxious, burdened spirit, and heartily join in its concluding prayer. The twenty-three questions embrace the grand points of controversy discussed in the *Mizân ul Haqq*: and are short, but conclusive.

Such appearances are encouraging. We receive them as types of the intellectual enquiry and spiritual thought now at work both among the Hindus and Mohammedans. A few singular cases have risen to the surface and attracted our attention. How many similar instances may be occurring, deep and unknown, among the masses of the people, we have no means of knowing. It is undoubted, however, that more correct and extensive knowledge of Christianity is gradually permeating all classes of our fellow-subjects, and that a slow, but sure, advance towards enlightenment is in progress. It is true that, in the view of human agency, there are more hopeful tokens among the Hindus than amongst the Mohammedans, but this should not discourage us from our controversy with the latter, which indeed must exercise a powerful, though indirect, influence upon the Hindus also. This important fact has been established by the controversy at Dohli. The Hindu, sickened by idolatry, turns to the other two religions which surround him, and enquires into their respective claims, and we must be ready at hand to meet him with the proofs of our most holy faith. It is interesting to watch on such an occasion the convincing effects of a comparison between the *morality* of the Gospel and of the Koran, apart from all questions of external proof. The Hindu, who has cast off his hereditary idolatry, is bound by no family shackles or national prejudices to Islam, and if his conscience be really awakened, the comparison of the two religions—Christianity and Mohammedanism, cannot fail to be of essential service, and, under God's blessing, to add to practical results.

We must not then grow weary in following this noble vocation. Britain must not faint until her millions abandon the false prophet, and the idol shrines, and rally around that eternal truth, which has been brought to light in the Gospel. At every point of contact with Islam, Christianity has the temporal ascendancy. The political prestige of Mohamed is departed for ever. The relation of France to Africa, and of Russia and Austria to the Turkish and Persian dynasties, evinces in a striking light the depression of Islam. But it is to be feared that the *spiritual* influences brought into play by these European powers are comparatively puny and ineffective. The

corruptions of the Greek and Roman Churches cannot but injure the usefulness of any efforts made by Russia or Austria,\* if any such be in progress; while the Government of the former, by their expulsion from Shusby of Mr. Pfander and his band, have cast aside the Protestant assistance that was so generously afforded by Germany. Little is to be hoped for from the Roman Catholics of France; and we have no information of the proceedings of the Evangelical Churches there. They have a noble field opened for their endeavours in Algeria, and ought not to be slow in occupying it.

From this review the mind reverts with pleasure and with hope to the efforts now made in British India. Let them be prosecuted with patience, with vigour, and with dependence on the Divine blessing, and in due time that blessing will be vouchsafed.

\* A late journal illustrates the practical effects of this corruption in a very painful manner. After describing the long standing disputes between the Greek and Roman Churches, for the sacred places in Palestine, the malice and hatred which not unfrequently end in "bloody battles even within the interior of the Churches," and inspire the Mohammedans with contempt and disgust,—the writer proceeds —

"The quarrel of these monks and pilgrims has lately reached its greatest height. Diplomacy ensued. On the one side the church of Rome, and France, supported the demands of the Latins. On the other side the church of St. Peterburgh defended the cause of the Greeks \* \* \* The negotiations lasted a long time. The Ottoman Porte was very embarrassed by these opposing claims, and knew not how to reconcile them. At length the dispute appear to have been arranged. This was the decision. First, the Latins shall have the outer key of the great church of Bethlehem, and the two keys of the side gates, &c \* \* \* Thus all the noise that has been made, these states, battles, negotiations, diplomatic snatches, and long deliberations of the Ottoman Porte, concerned—what?" Dr. Macaulay, "two or three keys, the fabrication of a silver star, the participation in such and such a compartment of an old edifice, with purity!"—*Evang. Christendom*, April, 1852, p. 104.

This is the Christianity displayed before the Turks, these are the efforts made by the Greek and Roman Churches, such the contrast between our political ascendancy, and the spiritual humiliation to which the corruption of our faith has subjected us!

ART. VII.—*The Times* *Newspaper*. 1852.

A YEAR ago, our brief remarks on the subject of the future administration of India, were introduced by quoting a touching lamentation of that eminently liberal member, Mr. Joseph Hume, who had bewailed the sad fate of India, treated in general, by the House of Commons, as if it were some minor colony, scarcely worthy of a moment's consideration. The observations of the aged economist were not only perfectly just as respected the past, but they also prove to have been singularly prophetic; and that too in a manner which was hardly to have been anticipated, unless the theory be adopted that a prophecy has a tendency to originate and cause its own fulfilment. In the present instance, the year scarcely completes its circle when, *proh pudor*, our Nestor himself catches the infection, and, oblivious of the rights of India, which he had so lately championed, most unceremoniously cuts short a conversation between Mr. Herries and Mr. Anstey on the subject of a Committee of Inquiry into the laws and general management of our Anglo-Indian empire, by asking the intentions of Her Majesty's Government, not with reference to the East Indian Charter, but with regard to the future general policy of the Derby administration. A question of such universal scope, even if the Chancellor of the Exchequer had been present, was not likely to elicit a very specific or satisfactory reply: but when Mr. D'Israeli, our man in the House, the question was as apropos as would be the transition to a question as to the length of a lady's ~~skirt~~ of the <sup>internal</sup> ~~the~~ range of a Minie rifle. The occasion was favourable, <sup>and</sup> ~~is~~ <sup>the</sup> President of the Board of Control, scarce installed in <sup>the</sup> office, rose thus early to promise the House; surely a ~~weak~~ <sup>weak</sup> of encouragement to induce him to persist in his avowed intention, would not have been out of place; and a timely show of cordial support to Mr. Anstey, could not but have strengthened that gentleman's laudable zeal for the welfare of our Eastern Empire. But the veteran chartist preferred an abortive attempt at catechizing the understrappers of the ministry, and got his due,—a quiet snub from Mr. Walpole, for his pains. This little episode of consistency is, however, perfectly intelligible. Last June we noted Lord J. Russell's disingenuous mode of evading the weighty questions raised by Mr. Anstey's motion, and the premature development of the tactics of the Court of Directors, through the ~~strenuous~~ <sup>strenuous</sup> eagerness of Sir J. W. Hogg and Mr. Mangold to secure



people of England, and to the magnates of Leadenhall-street; but which could not have proved quite so agreeable to the senses of the new ministry. The latter, at the same time that the possibility of improving the Home administration of India was represented as most problematical, found themselves twitted with shunning a matter of paramount importance; and the anticipated neglect of Lord Derby and his colleagues, on so momentous a subject, was adroitly turned into a charge of deliberately sacrificing the interests of India, to the satisfaction of a blind, uncalculating hostility to Free Trade.

Keeping entirely out of view the consistency and justice of a charge gravely advanced after such admissions, there was something galling in the purpose to which it was applied;—India made a lance for the champion of Free Trade, and rather unhandsomely dug into the ribs of the conservative leader. This could not have been agreeable, seeing that as both combatants bore the same device on their shields—the Company's lion, with his paw on the Crown—there was somewhat traitorous in the tilt, and, possibly, this passage of arms may have aided in precipitating Lord Derby into a measure which, unprovoked, he would evidently have preferred avoiding; namely, the appointment of a committee to take into consideration the future administration of India.

This measure, though only a preliminary one, seriously alarmed and took by surprise the staunch adherents of the East India Company. They were very confident, that the embarrassment of a new Government, insecure in its power, and struggling against a formidable enough work, opposition, would find the Derby administration, by so serious without any augmentation of power, and instead of an enterprize as the revision of our Anglo-Indian administration. Sanguine, therefore, has been the tone of the letters to India, that all was well in the citadel; and considerable has been the exultation accordingly at the consolatory prospect that the *status quo* was good for the next two-and-twenty years. Suddenly those comfortable anticipations were over-clouded, and the question of the future administration of India, instead of being "rudely shelled by the animosities of parties at home," is made an open question, and the Government pledging themselves to be guided by the reports of the committee, lay the subject before the House of Lords for deliberate consideration, "by what means and by what instrumentality (remembering that this is no party—no political question—it is a question of empire) the great and important interests of that overwhelming empire of India can best be promoted, and most steadily."

"advanced." Thus spoke and pledged the head of the administration; and although crumbs of comfort are sought in the evident leaning of Lord Derby, the "strong opinion," which was implied, but not developed, it was felt by the interested advocates for the permanence of the existing state of affairs, that the point of the wedge was in; that able and sturdy men were at hand to impart cleaving blows, and that the probable results scarce warranted the sanguine prospect hitherto entertained, and sedulously disseminated in India, that the directorial monopoly of patronage and influence would outlive, for forty years, the conclusion of the Company's trade monopoly.

Lord Derby, on the subject of monopoly of patronage, spoke apologetically for the Court of Directors. He seemed to feel that it was a ~~weak~~ point, and labouring to place the matter in as favorable a light as possible, he over-did it. Far be it from us to hazard a surmise, as to the venerable and patriarchal director, whom Lord Derby may have selected as the original of his portrait; it may have been any octogenarian whatsoever of past or present times; but, certainly, unless there was a vein of sly, but subdued and dignified humour pervading his remarks, the impression left upon the mind by the picture of his Lordship's drawing,—sons, nephews, and also grand-sons, grouped around the feet of a Leadenhall-street sage, who is holding forth upon the good things of their land of promise, India,—is not precisely that at which the Premier's harangue ostensibly aimed. On the contrary, it was well calculated to bring down upon his ideal patriarch the quotation that patronage, like charity, "will hardly water the ground where it must first fill a pool," and that in this case there must be filled not one pool only, but thirty pools, before there could be an overflow of patronage to be distributed among those who were deserving of it, for the services they had rendered. Thirty pools, each of that depth of sons, nephews and grand-sons, which, for some reason or other, seems always to appertain to those who have the precious liquid to dispense, undoubtedly swallow a great deal of patronage; and Lord Ellenborough incontestably had it all his own way when he quoted Bacon on so abstruse a problem. We are not, however, going to repeat what we said upon this subject in September last; but we are tempted to give instances, and those very striking ones, illustrative of the powers of absorption of the pools in question, and as a necessary result, glaring instances of the "utter hopelessness" of obtaining the least from the Directors for the benefit of their "families," by distinguished servants of the Company and of Her Majesty, who, though the best years of their lives had

been conspicuously devoted to India, had not the more profitable merit of belonging to one of the thirty pools. This subject, however, would be a trifle too personal; and the observations it must elicit more caustic than might be agreeable: for we should have to dissect the statement of Sir J. W. Hogg, "that an inquiry which had been instituted, had shewn that out of 2,900 appointments, 1,100 were given to the sons of servants of the Company, 1,700 to the sons of the nobility, gentry, and professional men, and the rest were given, as they ought to be, to the sons of naval and military officers in the Queen's service, and the largest proportion of all to the clergy." This sort of grouping goes with us for as much as it is worth, extremely little; but Sir J. W. Hogg understands his craft, and he must have laughed in his sleeve, at the simplicity of Sir R. Inglis's gratitude "for his very valuable contribution of facts and arguments." Having no wish or intention to wound individuals, we turn from the subject of the distribution of patronage, to a consideration of some of the more general views which were broached by Lords Derby and Ellenborough; the former nobleman with evident hesitation, and an avowed consciousness of his comparative ignorance of the vast seas of enquiry on which he was launching the House of Lords; the latter Peer, on the contrary, with a confidence and knowledge of detail characteristic of the man, and of his admitted ability. We cannot, perhaps, do better than make a few running comments upon the Earl of Ellenborough's notice of motion; not foregoing, however, our intention of ultimately treating, in separate articles, if necessary, the several heads noted at the conclusion of our second article, viz., the home branch of the Indian administration; the Court of Directors; and the army, with its associated departments.

Fictions, in the present day, whether judicial, or political, do not meet with much respect; their day is pretty well over; and every fresh inroad upon the still extensive territory of those two trusty allies, fiction and fallacy, is pretty sure of success. The advocacy of avowed fiction has become a forlorn hope, and he must be both a very bold and a very dexterous pleader who fights under that banner. Now, the boldness of the Premier was apparent enough; but we think his dexterity failed him entirely, when, after a tolerably succinct review of the series of changes in the home branches of the administration of India, he closed his retrospect with the following candid summing-up:—"When looking thus to the working of this anomalous machine, conducted, in the first place, apparently, by Directors, elected by a body of

proprietors, who have little or no interest in the affairs of the country which the Directors are to govern;—conducted again by those Directors under the control of the President of the Board of Control, and literally reduced to be, in fact, a subordinate Government Board,—the question naturally suggests itself, to what purpose is it to continue this complex and anomalous machinery? Why not vest the nominal authority in the same hands which are now possessed of the real? and why not altogether dispense with the unnecessary intervention of the Board of Directors?" This comes of defending a fiction; and the important question thus concisely and correctly put, will be readily enough answered by the public. Simplify your cumbrous and expensive machinery, which presents no advantage, except the sinister one of eluding responsibility; and wipe off another legislative falsehood, another practical imposition on the people. There was more of dexterity in the leading article of the *Times* on this subject: but, of course, less of candour. The defence of fiction is necessarily disingenuous, and that able journal could only escape a controversial dilemma, by having recourse to transparent fallacies, and to the assumption of that which is the main point at issue. After stating that "the Government of India, by the agency of the East India Company, is a fiction, inasmuch as the real authority is vested in the Board of Control, which can dictate unconditionally to the Directors,"—it asks the question, "Why, then, should this cumbrous machinery be retained? and why should territorial dominion be nominally lodged in a Court of Directors, when it is actually exercised by a ministerial board?" To this most rational question it proceeds to reply, by adroitly confounding the essentially disconnected subjects of patronage and dominion,—of the first appointment of writers and cadets in Leadenhall-street, with the Government of India; and then concludes with doubting, whether "it will prove desirable to disparage an authority which we are forced to preserve, and which must needs be the visible representative of British dominion in the East." This mode of reasoning is novel; the very question at issue is, whether this fiction of the Company's rule, with all its acknowledged anomalies, *must* needs continue, or conclude; and because there is a general willingness to leave the bone of contention, patronage, which has nought to do with sovereignty, a good deal in the hands of Directors, rather than wholly in those of the Crown,—to argue from this, that such initial patronage-holders must remain the visible representatives of our Anglo-Indian Empire, is to confound the administration of a mighty dominion with the function of satisfying some thirty deep thirsty pools of *usus*.

nephews, and grand-sons, to place the privilege of starting in life some fourteen or fifteen young gentlemen, bearing the honored name of their progenitor, upon the same footing as that of bearing the responsibility, and the honor, of the cares of an "overwhelming Empire." The Commissioners of Excise enjoy some degree of patronage, so do various corporate bodies in England; but we never heard it argued, that any of these corporate bodies, in virtue of their patronage, must needs be the visible representatives of British dominion. Argumentation of this description may be all very passable as a *jeu d'esprit*, but if meant for more, it certainly fails of effect. Single-speech Hamilton's book of *Parliamentary Logic* is not now very frequently to be met with, but Bentham's *Book of Fallacies* is often enough to be seen; and among the amusing parts of that work, the fallacies of confusion and fallacies of authority hold a high place. The Premier seems to have devoted a good deal of attention to the latter, and to have appropriated what Bentham designates the Chinese argument, glancing occasionally at another section, in which the hobgoblin argument, or that *ad metum*, figures; but the leading journal, with greater tact, has evidently been revelling in the former, taking care, however, to blend the fallacies of confusion with no small spice of those which belong to another department of this world-wide subject, and which the great purist has designated vituperative personalities, the fallacies *ad odium*. "Of the fallacies belonging to this class," says Bentham, "the common character is the endeavour to draw aside attention from the *measure* to the *man*; and this in such sort, as, from the supposed imperfection on the part of the man, by whom a measure is supported or opposed, to cause a correspondent imperfection to be imputed to the measure so supported, or excellence to the measure so opposed." However exquisite the use made of this suggestive sentence, we hold it entirely irrelevant to the matter in hand, whether the impugner of Lord Derby's laudatory remarks were influenced by love or hate of the East India Company; the question with us is not whether the Earl of Ellenborough and the Court of Directors have a brotherly affection for each other or the reverse. Judging from the articles of the *Times* on Indian affairs, it is clear that there is no love lost between the magnates of Leadenhall-street and the man whom they are pleased to consider as siding with the regal, against the corporate element of Indian Government, and whom they seek to render obnoxious by inculcating, that he is a partisan with the European army, as against the Civil Service and the sepoys. These animosities are nothing to the purpose; and we venture to predict, that,

ultimately, few thinkers will be cajoled by recourse to such well-understood modes of diversion, but at last the simple question will be, how does this very obnoxious individual grapple with the monster fiction? This is the question we propose to ourselves to answer, and we leave the adjustment of the balance of prejudice and hate, to those who have time and inclination for the discussion. If it be true, that a fiction of law may be defined, "a wilful falsehood, having for its object the stealing of legislative power, by and for hands which could not, or durst not, openly claim it, and but for the delusion thus produced, could not exercise it,"—we affirm that a fiction of politics is singularly analogous, and that the consequences of the delusions it produces are practically far more noxious and objectionable.

At the same time, we are willing to admit that the line of argument adopted by the leading journal, was for the time remarkably successful. Mr. Herries, when moving for a committee in the House of Commons, threw off the reserve which the Premier had deemed it expedient to observe; instead of merely adumbrating his favorable opinion of the existing machinery of the Home Government, he spoke with more confidence than Lord Derby, and concluded his laudatory exposition of the working of the existing system, by deferring, indeed, to the wisdom of Parliament to adopt any new mode of managing the affairs of India, which it might please to approve, though, at the same time, "he contended that the present was the best." With the exception of Mr. Anstey, others took up this key-note, with more or less of reserve, according to the party to which they chanced to belong, and the possibility of the question becoming, at a future day, somewhat of a party question. But our friend, Mr. Hume, made out the ryots extremely comfortable on the whole! the Court of Directors impeachable save on the score of irrigation and road-making; made an *auto-da-fe* of the Board of Control; and proposed as a panacea for the maladies of India, free Trade, and that the Court of Directors should be the Council of the minister of the day! This display of the "wisdom of Parliament," proved somewhat consolatory to the alarmed dependents of Leadenhall-street; but the *Times*, rather more astute than its followers, and feeling the dangerous weakness of the cause, when it came before the public in such guise; one in which the public might chance to perceive no great difference of opinion between an Indian Council, as proposed in the Upper House, and the burking of the Board of Control as proposed by Mr. Hume, with the view of rendering the Court of Directors the

Council, adopted the very extraordinary line of argument which, in order that we may not be said to misrepresent, we give *in extenso*, for the editorial is admirably penned, and its only fault is, that truth is misapplied :—

" The vast questions involved in the debate on Indian affairs were treated by the speakers in the House of Commons, on Monday evening, with more than usual earnestness, and by the House itself with its ordinary inattention to remote dependencies. Any one unacquainted with the manner in which business is got through in the House of Commons, would find it impossible to believe, that during a discussion involving the destiny of one hundred and fifty millions of people, whom Providence has committed to our care, it was several times difficult to keep together the forty members required to form a quorum. There was nothing about beer or highway rates, to interest the country gentlemen ; no question of taxes or tariffs to arouse the zeal of the man of commerce, free-trader and protectionist found no ground for contest in the affairs of a Company whose exclusive privileges have long been cancelled ; the debate was only as to the affairs of an Empire as large as Europe, and five times more populous than the British Islands, for whose welfare we are responsible before God and man. It is sad to think how little sympathy the chequered annals of the East have raised, either in the minds of our leading statesmen, or of the great body of our legislators, from the time when Burke almost schooled himself to feel as a Hindu, in his intense desire to present to Parliament and the country, a true and lively picture of Indian manners and sufferings.

And yet we cannot imagine a study more fruitful in lessons of weighty and practical experience, and more rich in important results, than a careful consideration of the principles which ought to regulate the relations between us as a governing state, and this vast and dependent empire. Shall the Government be vested, like that of our Colonies, in a minister responsible to Parliament for patronage and administration ?—shall the Government be more localized than it is, and less interfered with from home ?—or shall we adhere to the present system, anomalous, apparently provisional in its character, but possessing on its side, the testimony of experience, and the advantage of having been practically worked, and thoroughly understood ? Without pretending to solve this weighty problem, we may, without temerity, adduce some considerations which may tend to assist others in its solution.

In the first place, we may learn from the scanty attendance on Monday night, how impossible it is that any minister, to whom the affairs of India may be committed, should ever act under a really efficient Parliamentary responsibility. India is proverbially the dinner bell of the House. The minister will never seriously dread his responsibility, because he is well aware that complaints against him will always be made before thin, and inattentive audiences. The House will not understand the accusation or listen to the defence. It is not every century which produces a Burke ; and yet even his genius and devotion were unable to prevent the prosecution of an Indian delinquent from languishing, and dying out. The case of our Colonies ought to teach us this. Inhabited by people of our own race, speaking our own language, connected by blood and affinity with many of ourselves, and possessing our national impatience of arbitrary and centralized power, the Colonists have never been able to interest Parliament in their behalf, sufficiently to make the Colonial minister feel the weight of a real responsibility. How then shall Asiatics, aliens in race, in language, and in institutions,

and ignorant of, and unable to comprehend, our Parliamentary system, create for themselves that sympathy, and for their minister that consequent responsibility, which persons, in every way so much more favorably situated, have failed to obtain? The condition then, of governing India more entirely from home, would be irresponsible administration and patronage, the appointment of incompetent servants, and the adoption of ill-considered measures. The Colonies, up to a certain point, may be mis-governed with impunity, but in India we can neither afford to act with rashness, nor to persist with pertinacity. The stake is too great, the game too hazardous, the consequences of failure too disastrous, to permit of our handing over our Indian Empire to irresponsible caprice and ignorance.

In the Colonies every one sees the remedy for such a state of things. That responsibility which is sought in vain within the British Parliament, is easily found within the walls of Colonial assemblies. Make but the Government responsible to the Colonist, and its principal evil is remedied. But this analogy entirely fails when applied to India. Mr. Anstey does indeed say that two establishments, one in Cannon Row, and one in Leadenhall-street, are kept up to do that which the people of India can do better for themselves; but there will be very few found to echo an opinion so manifestly at variance with the teachings of experience. We cannot look to self-government as a remedy for the difficulties of Indian Government, because that Government is established over a race, which from the times of their heroes and demi gods, never dreamt of any rule except that of an absolute Monarch. Nor can we trust very much to native aid in directing the higher functions of administration. The extraordinary code of morals, which most Hindus possess, and which teaches them to consider forgery and perjury among the most venial of offences, renders it quite necessary to place our reliance on something more trust worthy than native purity or integrity.

It seems from this review, that we are driven to look for good Government for India, from sources quite different from those on which we rely in regulating the affairs of the British Islands or their Colonies. An Indian Government, responsible to the natives, is impossible, from their incapacity for self-reliance and union, and to Parliament from its ignorance and apathy on all but domestic questions. We must then be content, from necessity, to suffer our noble eastern empire to be ruled on principles which we would neither tolerate as applied to ourselves, nor wish, if it were avoidable, to apply to others. There is no help for it. We may alter names and forms. We may substitute an Indian council for a Board of Directors, and the name of Queen Victoria for that of the Honorable Company. But still the result will be, that whereas in this country Government is guided by public opinion, in India its course must be directed by the personal character of those to whom it is entrusted, and by the amount of their local knowledge and experience.

The main problem then of Indian Government seems to be to select persons for the office of administering its different functions, possessed of the integrity, ability, and humanity, requisite to counteract the vices of a system of necessarily imperfect responsibility. It may be doubted whether this can be better effected than by the present plan, under which a department of the Government, and a number of gentlemen possessing local experience, act and re-act upon each other, so that each in some degree checks and controls the other's motions. This is a fit subject for inquiry and discussion; and any suggestion, which may have the effect of elevating the character of the Board of Directors, by relieving them from the necessity of a laborious and humiliating canvass, or which could secure a better

disposal of the patronage, would be of the greatest practical benefit. Possibly, also, a system might be devised, by which the recent precedent of making writerships the rewards of superior merits, might be extended. At any rate, we trust that the time of the committee will not be wasted in speculations how to impart to our Indian Government an excellence which the nature of things forbids it to possess, but rather in the consideration how to train and appoint executive officers possessed in the highest possible degree of those qualities which are required for the direction of a semi-civilized empire. It is, after all, not so much by force of arms, as by superior intelligence and high character, that we govern and retain India, and the best reforms will be those which elevate that intelligence, and exalt that character, to the highest possible standard.

Now reduce this argument to its simple terms, and it amounts to this, that because India is the dinner-bell of the House of Commons, and under existing circumstances, from the present difficulty of fixing responsibility on any one, the responsibility of the President of the Board of Control to Parliament is shadowy, therefore, no attempt is to be made, by simplifying that complex machinery, which is a main cause of the evasion of responsibility and of the indifference of the houses, to mitigate an evil which all deplore, and which evidently cannot be remedied otherwise. The question is not that of governing India more entirely from home than at present. That is not practicable, and no one wishes it: but the real question is, whether the present wholly irresponsible, and avowedly anomalous administration can, by being simplified, be rendered practically responsible to Parliament, and freed from those fundamental errors of constitution, which render the defecation of the local administration of India virtually impossible. This is the main problem; and the matters advanced by the leading journal as the fit subjects for consideration by the Committees, are, however important some of them may be, quite of secondary and ancillary importance. Moreover, they are involved in the decision of the main problem as natural consequences of real, instead of purely fictitious responsibility.

Throughout the debate in the Lower House, there was a constant reference, mentally, if not verbally, to the following notice; all more or less spoke at it. Although differing in some essential points from the propositions contained in this motion, the fact of its thus influencing the debate, renders a comment upon its provisions advisable.

The notice is as follows:—

The Earl of Ellenborough. To move that it is expedient to amend the laws relating to the administration of Indian affairs as follows:—

1. That from and after the 30th day of April, 1854, the connexion between the East India Company and the Government of India do cease and determine.

2. That provision be made for the due transmission from India of the requisite funds to meet the dividends on East India stock, and the interest on East India bonds, and for the payment of such dividends and interest at the Bank of England on the usual days.

3. That the powers now vested in the Commissioners for affairs of India, and in the Directors of the East India Company, in regard to the Government of India, be transferred respectively to a President of the Indian Council appointed by the Crown, and to the members of the Indian Council elected as hereinafter mentioned.

4. That the persons qualified to vote at the election of Directors of the East India Company, and all such persons as shall have actually served ten years in India, as Judges in the Supreme Courts, or as Bishops, or in the discharge of an ecclesiastical function, or in any civil employment under the Government of India, or as commissioned officers of the Royal, or of the native army, or of the Indian navy, shall be entitled to vote at the election of members of the Indian Council ; provided that no vote at any such election shall be given by proxy, and that no person shall have more than one vote, and that every person claiming to vote shall have been duly registered as a voter thirty days before the election.

5. That the Indian Council shall consist of twelve Members, elected for five years, and re-eligible ; and that nine of such Members shall be persons qualified to vote at the election of such Council, by reason of actual service in India.

6. That the President of the Indian Council shall have control over all payments made from the Home treasury.

7. That an Auditor of Indian accounts be appointed by the Crown.

8. That one-fourth of all cadetships and writerships be sold at a fixed price ; the cadetships at the discretion of the Commander in-Chief of Her Majesty's forces, and the writerships at the discretion of the President of the Indian Council.

9. That the Commander-in-Chief of the army in India, and of the native army of each Presidency, shall be appointed by the Crown, and that such Commander-in-Chief shall be ex-officio a Member of Council at the Presidency whereof he shall command the army.

10. That the Crown shall, from time to time, fix the number of the Royal troops it may be deemed expedient to employ in India, and that the whole charge of all such Royal troops shall be borne by the revenue of India.

11. That the appointments of Members of the Council of India, and of the Councils of the several Presidencies, be subject to approval by the Crown.

12. That the Crown alone shall have the power of removing from office the Governor-General, and the Governors of the several Presidencies, and the Members of the Council of India, and of the several other Councils.

13. That one Member to be selected from the Presidency of Madras, and one Member to be selected from the Presidency of Bombay, shall be added to the Council of India.

14. That provisions be made for defining the respective powers of the Governor General and of the Council of India, when the Governor-General shall deem it expedient to be absent from the Council.

15. That provision be made for removing all doubt as to the power of the Governor-General to over-rule the Council whenever he may deem it expedient.

16. That all appointments in India be made by the Governor General and the Governors of the several Presidencies ; and that the Indian Coun-

shall have power to cancel any appointment, and to direct the re-appointment of any person removed without sufficient cause.

17. That the Governor General and the Governors of the several Presidencies shall have the power of appointing military officers to situations in the Civil Service; but the special grounds of any such appointment shall in each case be recorded, and forthwith reported to the Indian Council; and at the expiration of one year, every officer holding such appointment, shall be deemed to have retired from the military service.

18. That the provisional appointment of a Governor-General be deposited with the Council of India in a sealed packet, to be opened only in the event of death, resignation or departure of the Governor-General, with the intention of leaving India.

19. That all orders addressed to India be signed by the President of the Indian Council; and that the Government of India be conducted in the name of the Crown.

There cannot be a doubt upon the mind of any impartial person, that the tendency of the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 6th, and 7th sections of this notice are eminently calculated to annihilate complexity, and to simplify the Home Branch of the administration of Indian affairs; to substitute responsibility for irresponsibility, economy for profuseness; and to secure all advantages of the present system, without its manifold disadvantages, contradictions, and baffling involutions. In lieu of two Indian councils, in which the one paramount and controlling authority was always so composed, as to have not a soul in it practically acquainted with India, whilst the other, entirely subordinate, and only by fiction governing, was composed of sea captains, London bankers, and men of antiquated connection with India, these sections substitute one Indian Council, the President of which, as a member of the ministry, must necessarily be directly responsible to Parliament, whilst the members of that Council, by its very constitution, must, in great part, be men experienced in Indian affairs; and their tenure of office not being permanent but subject to a real, and not a nominal re-election after five years of incumbency, there would be a strong stimulus to exertion and to efficiency. Every member would feel that the Council need not suffer under the incubus of a useless or ignorant man, beyond the period of the next election; whilst glaring cases of an intolerable nature would be open to remedy, under the provisions of the twelfth section, which lodges the power of removal in the Crown, and thus renders the members of the Council, as well as its President, directly responsible to the Parliament of Great Britain. This would be a great point gained, and one which last year was, in this journal, marked out as of primary importance.

On the score of economy, not a doubt can be entertained of

the value of substituting one complete and efficient establishment, for two neither complete nor efficient, but very costly ; that in Leadenhall-street being notoriously extravagant, and alone amounting to upwards of £132,000 per annum, in salaries to Directors (£7,558,) to secretaries and clerks (£95,572) and contingent expenses (£28,972). Were its influence in originating extra and unnecessary expense, traced through every department, and the burthen of pensions to home servants also estimated, we should be found far under the mark in considering that the substitution of one well-organized Council, and its establishment, for the two inefficient ones now existing, would produce a saving to India of at least £150,000 per annum. This sum, added to that which we before estimated as easily to be retrenched from expenditure in India without detriment to the efficiency of administration, viz., £250,000 per annum, would give a total on the lowest calculation of £400,000 per annum saved to the State, and which we should rejoice to find devoted in equal portions to education, and to great public works in India.

The advantages from such a simplification of the Home Branch, would not be limited to a real, instead of nominal responsibility, --nor to an economy favorable to the public purse, and not mutilating real efficiency of administration ;--but they would extend farther, and be of a higher order. Fictions cannot be worked without additional fictions; and they, invariably, entail questionable, if not dishonest evasions. Thus all the Acts of Parliament may be searched in vain for authority, sanctioning the system of unofficial communications, styled "previous communications." These are an expedient for avoiding constant collision between the India Board and the India House ; but it is an expedient, destructive of the responsibility of either of these Boards, for it has the effect of blending and commingling the action and reaction of both upon any question in such a manner, that it becomes the interest of both, if it be sought to ventilate a subject by inquiry, to mystify the public as much as possible. However divergent the opinions of the respective Boards may originally have been, they lose, in the course of these unofficial previous communications, their individuality : and it would often be extremely difficult to dissect the ultimate official dispatch, and to push home responsibility to its proper quarter. Hence the battledore and shuttle-cock game, in which these two Boards excel before the Houses of Parliament, except when on an old, and from elapsed time, a pretty safe subject, a Hobhouse chooses to avow, that he alone did it, i. e., lit the Afghan war. All this is bad ; utterly defeats responsibility ; arrays two

organized Boards against the public and on the side of mystery, and drives a coach and four through the provisions of an Act of Parliament, which sought to render each Board, both the controlling and the subordinate, clearly responsible for its own opinions, instead of inviting them to confederate for the concealment of their several views, and thus to shun individual responsibility. Section XXX. Cap. 85 of 3 and 4, Wm. IV., authorizes nothing but official and recorded communications, whilst Section XXXII. and XXXIII. confirm this view, by the provisions they make in cases where representations have to be made by the Directors upon the orders of the Board. The act evidently never contemplated such an evasion of its intentions as that to which we have adverted, and which is contrary to its whole spirit and purpose. The proposed Indian Council would have no need for any such questionable, if not positively illegal shifts.

Though the modification now proposed, be thus in general harmony with the views before expressed in this *Review*, some of the details, as concisely stated in the notice, appear to need revision or further explanation. Thus the nineteen sections of this motion leave it uncertain whether members of the Court of Directors are, or are not, to be eligible to the Council of India. Now this is an omission of very grave moment, for if Directors are eligible to the Council of India, the whole scheme is vitiated, and that separation between the chief dispensers of nominations to the services, civil and military, in India, and those charged with the control of Indian affairs,—a separation of distinct functions, which is essential to the future good government of India,—will not practically exist. Patronage will give the Directors a monopoly of the nine seats in Council, and that body will thus become far more mischievously influential than at present, from enjoying a permanent majority in a Council of greater direct weight and dignity, than is the subordinate Board, now called the Secret Committee. This we regard as an omission calculated to increase vastly the difficulty of carrying out measures of economical and ministerial improvement in India; and as one so quick-sighted as the recorder of this motion, was not likely to have over-looked the point, we can only suppose that he considered the first section effectually to prescribe against any Director being of the Indian Council. But this the wording does not seem to bear out; as though the connexion between the East India Company, in its corporate capacity, and the Government of India, should cease and determine by its provision on the 30th April, 1854, yet, there is nothing to prevent a Director of that Company, in his

private capacity, canvassing for a seat in the Indian Council, unless it be clearly stated that they are disqualified by the fact of being Directors of the East India Company, which is not done. Either Lord Ellenborough is no enemy, or his enmity was asleep when he recorded this motion, without a distinct disqualification of the patronage-dispensers from a seat in Council. We do not observe that in the notice, or in the speech in the House of Lords, the Directors of the East India Company are to be reduced in numbers to twelve; but if this were the case, the greater increase of patronage, and therefore of influence, which such a modification would yield to the lucky twelve, would render the seat of eight or nine of them in Council pretty certain, if not of the whole round dozen. The proposition under this aspect virtually coincides with that of Mr. Hume. To the constituency, to whom the election of members of the Council of India is, by section 4, proposed to be entrusted, we have little objection to offer, except that it might, in these days of rapid communication with India, be extended with marked advantage to such persons, whether in the services or out of it, as are possessed of a certain amount of Company's Paper. None are more interested in the stability of the Indian Government, and the proper administration of its affairs, than those whose incomes depend on the state of its public funds; and fixing this money qualification at a good high figure, say Rs. 50,000, held at least two years by the voter at the time of registry, the number of voters on this qualification could never over-bear those qualified to vote on other grounds. This portion of the constituency, and this alone, should be permitted to have more votes than one to each voter, and to vote by proxy, under carefully prepared rules.

The suggestion is made with reference to a variety of considerations. Among them may be stated that it would, in a thoroughly safe manner, give the wealthy natives of India an indirect voice in Indian affairs; would encourage them to place confidence in the public funds, and facilitate Government transactions, whilst, at the same time, it would give a higher value to Government Securities, than they could, in any other manner, attain. We are convinced that were a vote attached to each £5,000 of Government Securities in a man's possession, not only would Government Paper be in greater request among the rich and influential natives of India, but also British capital would find its way much more freely to India than at present. As the Government has guaranteed a certain profit upon the capital embarked in Rail Roads for India, the rule might be extended to all proprietors of stock of that description, upon which £5,000 had been *boni fide* paid up; and, as in

Government Securities, every additional £5,000 *paid up* should vest the holder of the stock with an additional vote. Such an addition to the provisions of section 4 would work well for India ; it would afford to those most interested in its peace and welfare, a voice, though an indirect one, in the controlling Council, and it would encourage the flow of British Capital to India, and in some degree make amends for annual drain on account of East India Stock and Bonds. The noble Lord, who proposed section 4, and who, at the close of his administration, left the 4 per cent. Government Securities nearly at par, a phenomenon not since witnessed, would surely not oppose a modification calculated to benefit India, and to facilitate the financial transactions of its Government ; it might even possibly re-produce the wonder of the 4 per cents. being some day again nearly at par.

However just his remarks may have been, as to the proprietors of India Stock representing nothing but their £1,000 of stock,—and that of 1,800 such, not above one-sixth of the whole were really connected with India,—these remarks could not apply to the holders of £5,000 of Indian Government Securities, or of £5,000 paid-up capital in Rail Roads. Rich, well-informed natives, public servants of considerable service and steady economy, and English capitalists engaged in developing the capabilities of India on her own soil, would form the classes enjoying the money qualifications ; and these are the classes whose influence could not but prove advantageous to India. Such a step would be a safe advance towards the gradual admission of the natives of India to the benefits of self-government ; a step in the right direction, that is, by the enlistment of those whose wealth and general intelligence led them to appreciate the privilege of co-operation with the Anglo-Indian community, in the selection of fit instruments for the Indian Council. We are aware that difficulties of a minor character may be raised against such an extension of the suffrage to India ; but as before observed, in these days of rapid steam communication, such difficulties may be easily surmounted.

The tendencies of the age being decidedly democratic, the fears of Crown influence, in matters of patronage, are an antiquated bug-bear. The Crown needs all the adventitious strength that can be given to it, and though we before advanced our reasons for preferring that the bulk of the initial patronage to Indian appointments, should remain in the hands of a Court of Directors, it was on no anachronistic jealousy of Court influence. We see no valid objection to section 8, therefore ; on the contrary, the promise of real advantage, both to the civil and the military

services of India. Three-fourths of the patronage remaining in the hands of the Court of Directors, the other fourth may be conceded to the President of the Indian Council, and Her Majesty's Commander-in-Chief, that is, to the people of England in general. Our quarrel with the motion would be, that it leaves the present constitution of the Court of Directors almost intact: the basis of their election in no way expanded; and, therefore, that the flow of patronage would still hold on in its old channels. Section 17 should have contained provisions, by which a Governor-General, and Governors of the several Presidencies, would have been vested with the power, not only of appointing military officers to situations in the Civil Service, but also of making use of the services of uncovenanted residents in India, qualified by their attainments, their previous employment in subordinate lines of the service, and a certain period of actual residence. Section 17 appears too to err in proposing, that at the expiration of one year, every military officer appointed to a civil situation, shall be deemed to have retired from the military service; for if intended as a period of probation, one year is too short a time; and moreover we wholly doubt the policy in India, of divesting Government of the option of calling, when requisite, for the services of men whose civil training and occupations, superadded to previous experience in the military department, have given them a thorough insight into the character and habits of every class of our native subjects. Such officers, instead of being struck off the roll of the Army, should be retained as at present on the list of their corps, and should, though regarded as supernumeraries, rise in their grades, and thus always remain available in case of emergency for active service. Whatever Martinets may say or think, such men often prove the best officers on service.\* They need not be called upon, however, except in cases of emergency. The anomaly of some corps having more officers on their list than others, in consequence of having a greater number of supernumeraries on civil employment, would be no detriment; as the promotion would be regulated by that of the officers with the corps and on military staff employment, the rise of a supernumerary being dependent on the promotion of the officer below him in the regimental list.

To section 9 we have no other objection to make, except that separate Councils at the Presidencies, being wholly unnecessary, only the Commander-in-Chief of the army in India should, *ex-officio*, be a Member of the Council of India; the Commanders of the forces at the minor Presidencies should have

a subordinate designation, and should be regarded as the Lieutenants of the Commander-in-Chief. Section 10 is undeniably reasonable, for no apprehensions need be entertained, that any administration will ever keep one European soldier in India, more than is absolutely necessary. From the multifarious calls of our wide-spread Colonial Empire, and the smallness of the Royal army, the fear is, that the European troops will always be too few.

Sections 11 and 12 are both absolutely essential for the good government of India, and are in exact accordance with the view formerly expressed in No. XXXI. of this *Review*.

The same remark applies to section 13. But we entirely differ from the purport of section 14, maintaining that the only provision upon this subject should be to cancel sections 69 and 70 of the 3 and 4 Wm. IV., Cap. 85, and to establish by Act of Parliament, that the Governor-General of India, wherever he may proceed, must be accompanied by the Council of India. On some pretence or other, it is always voted expedient by a Governor-General, to be quit of his Council; and nothing but a positive prohibition will prevent this most pernicious custom;—one, too, for which there is the less excuse, as the Governor-General can, in questions involving the safety, tranquillity, or interests of the British possessions in India, or any part of them, whenever he may deem it expedient, over-rule the Council, and act upon his own sole responsibility. Although we are aware of no reasonable doubts that can be raised as to the distinctness with which such exercise of his discretion is, on momentous questions, by existing acts fully vested in the Governor-General,—yet, if the acumen of lawyers has entertained doubts upon a point so clearly in our opinion foreseen and provided for, let the matter, by all means, be placed beyond cavil, and the provision called for in section 15 be incontrovertibly established; but never sanction, directly or indirectly, an expedient by which the Governor-General can act independently of his Council by being absent from it, and thus perhaps virtually over-rule that body without there being anything to show that he has done so, and therefore with far less of personal responsibility for his acts. Indeed, if a Governor-General is to be permitted to shelve his Council whenever the humour takes him, it is a farce to talk of rendering the members of the Council of India responsible to the Crown; and the cost of this expensive, but then useless piece of the administrative machinery, had far better be saved to the Exchequer.

We have no objection to offer to sections 16, 18, and 19.

The object in view in this article was circumscribed to a general and an impartial glance at the speeches and notice with which the discussion of the East India Charter opened in the Houses of Lords and Commons. It will have been seen that we coincide neither with Lord Derby nor Lord Ellenborough, though we consider the recorded motion of the latter to have higher merit than the habit of indiscriminate vituperation is likely to concede to the suggestions of one who is regarded by all under directorial influence, much in the light that Luther must have regarded the devil when he flung his inkstand at him. The contents of many an ink bottle have been hurled at this "Arch-felon" who

" In contempt,  
At one slight bound high overleaps all bound  
Of hill or highest wall, and sheer within  
Lights on his feet ;"

but we reserve our own "patent Mordan," with its sharp corners, until we see whether or not a section 20 be added to the notice, utterly disqualifying the patronage-dispensing body, the East India Directors, from having a seat in the Indian Council. Formerly we laid down the axiom, that in order to secure a sound, wholesome, improveable administration for India, the independence of governors from the control of the dispensers of initial patronage is absolutely indispensable. As the proposed Indian Council would have to exercise this supervision, whatever the advantages it offers in simplicity, economy, responsibility, and ease and rapidity of business, all will be vitiated, so far as the welfare of the Indian administration is concerned, if this fundamental axiom be lost sight of; and therefore, unless all possible doubt on this head were removed by a distinct disqualification, we must regard Lord Ellenborough as the very best friend the Court of Directors have, and as insidiously working to invest them with a certain majority in the Indian Council, and thus doing his utmost to enhance, secure, and perpetuate their direct and indirect control over every thread of the administration. This point must be prominently dwelt upon, for it is clear that among the unprejudiced and thoughtful Lord Ellenborough's speeches have made no transient impression. That able journal, the *Spectator*, by no means partial to the man, writes:—" The subject of India, which engaged the attention of the Lords at the close of last week, has been twice again pressed upon them by Lord Ellenborough. It was felt last week that Lord Derby, in the explanatory speech, with which he prefaced his motion for a committee on Indian affairs, was not equal to himself, even as an orator. He appeared like one who had been grammarmed in haste for the o-

sion, but had not fully comprehended the lesson he repeated by rote. Lord Ellenborough, on the contrary, spoke with the weight of observation, practical experience, and matured reflection. All the arguments being made for the exaggeration of his amateur military tastes, the view he took of the condition and wants of our Indian empire was sound and comprehensive. His comments this week on the war with Ava, and the abuses of the Indian press, heightened and confirmed the favorable impression he had made. He placed, in a clear light, the rashness with which a quarrel with the Burmese Court had been precipitated; the unseasonable time at which warlike operations have been commenced; and our imminent danger of being led by the war into cumbrous and embarrassing territorial acquisitions. His remarks on the Indian press were not less pertinent. That press is too much in the hands of officials, and the reckless manner in which secret minutes, and despatches of the utmost importance, are published, has, on several occasions, been highly detrimental to the public service." Private communications from a variety of quarters corroborate the fact of the deep impression made by that nobleman's remarks; and if further proof were needed, none could be more convincing than the whole tone of the debate in the House of Commons on Mr. Herries's motion for a committee. The speakers, whether movers, supporters, or opponents—a Herries, a Hogg, an Inglis, or an Anstey—all alike spoke at the observations and the notice of the Earl of Ellenborough. We cannot, therefore, be too careful in disseminating that nobleman's propositions, and in making sure that, under a hostile guise, the principle of corrupt and sinister influence, antagonistic to all real improvement, and which ought to be expelled from the service, be not, on the contrary, strengthened and preserved, instead of being eradicated for ever. If this fundamental error be maintained, the tinkering in both Houses will be waste labor, and sorry botchwork the inevitable result.

The existing internal administration of India is as far from altogether meriting the black in which the *Spectator* arrays it, as it is from deserving the *coulur de rose* with which Mr. Campbell would clothe it. Whatever the proportion of evil, much or little, we defy a Governor-General, or Governors, really to cope with the evil, and in any practical degree to remedy it, so long as they are under the thumbs of the four-and-twenty or thirty gentlemen, whose sons, nephews, and grand-sons form the administrative machinery. This is the one plague spot which needs the knife, otherwise you gangrene the whole corporate system; unless that be cut out, away with the dainty twaddle "of elevating the character of the Board of

" Directors, by relieving them from the necessity of a laborious and humiliating canvass ;" it is like telling a man writhing with spasmodic cholera to curl his hair by way of a remedy.

Many most important subjects, which must press themselves upon the attention of the committees, as eminently connected with the future welfare of India, are untouched by the notice on which we have been loosely commenting. The motion in question is a mere skeleton of a modified administrative organization, and does not aim at giving more than the main features of such a scheme. All-important as the primary wheels of a Government may be, and essential as the true free-working of the parts of its mechanism undoubtedly is, still, after all, you have only secured an engine, and how and to what purposes the engine's power is to be applied is, to the full, as momentous a question as its fabrication. But for this ill-timed Burmese war, the committees might have been congratulated on the opportunity, which peace and the acquisition of our natural frontiers afforded for contemplating India, not as an empire to be won, for that is fulfilled, but as an empire won and to be kept,—vast indeed, but compact, and the theatre on which the civilization, the arts, the knowledge, the religions of the East and West being in hourly contact, *must* henceforth struggle for ascendancy. The war of material force being over, that of opinions and of mind remains to be fought out, and is necessarily unavoidable. Narrowing the view to the empire of force which is won, are we to ignore the empire of the moral, the social, the religious, which is not won, but which must be won if our rule is really to benefit the millions of India ? Or are the great ends of Government of this noble empire circumscribed to the comparatively paltry consideration, whether the thirty pools, to which allusion has already been made, be filled to overflowing or not ? There are indications that some members of the committees will take a more comprehensive view of the great subject before them.

The religious aspect of the question cannot be limited to a recapitulation of the increase of bishops and chaplains. When you have stated that there are three bishops, 130 English and six Scotch chaplains, you present a very inadequate idea of a single phase of this momentous subject. We admit the great value of the labors of the chaplains of the Churches of England and of Scotland, among the Europeans in India. The effect and influence of the example of the European community upon the natives of India cannot be over-estimated ; and though we concur to some extent in what Buxton wrote to the Bishop of Calcutta :—" I am far more of a Quaker than you

are as to these Indian wars. I know every one of them may be called defensive, but the principles and root of all are aggression and conquest. I cannot conceive how our missions are ever to prevail against the arguments of our cannon. Six thousand Heathen slain at Gwalior are a terrible set-off against our converts;—yet we have no hesitation in asserting that the peace-conduct of the European community is a far greater bar to the success of Missionary labours than the heroism of our troops on the field of battle. Equivocal as the causes of our present Burmese war may be, the slaughter in the stockades committed by our shot and shell, will not produce so violent an anti-missionary spirit among the Burmese, as would the rise of a Calcutta, or a Bombay at Rangoon, or, which is more probable, the transfer of a Moulmein thither. Incalculably important in a Missionary point of view is the bearing and conduct of the European in India; and hence the chaplains may be designated not only the allies but the fellow-labourers of the Missionary. How are they selected? With or without reference to the infinitely important consequences which must result from inefficiency, lukewarmness, and the neglect of their ever changing flocks? Are their appointments merely a question of directorial patronage, or of earnest endeavour to secure the class of men alone fit for such a field?

Ancillary to the regular ministry of the Churches of England and Scotland, is the consideration of the provision for the Christian education of a very large class, to whom it will not, for an instant, be by any one pretended that the Anglo-Indian Government scheme of public education for natives is applicable. What is the provision for the moral and religious training and education of the children of our British soldiery? At best, utterly inadequate; and where, as in the European artillery, companies are detached, there is no provision at all. But large as this class of children is, there is a still larger one which is designated Christian, and which is to the full as much neglected, except at Agra or the Presidencies. The Eurasian clerks in our offices, civil and, military, men worked from morning to night, and enjoying small leisure for the instruction of their own families, how are their children taught and trained? What sort of credit do they bring on the Christian name? How is this field occupied? Yet really this class has souls, and standing on intermediate ground between the European and the native races, their conduct and example as Christians being under permanent review and comparison, has no slight influence both on Hindus and Mussulmans in imparting notions of the value of Christianity.

No one will argue, that these are fields on which Government may not, with propriety, encourage religious and useful education. No one will be bold enough—coward enough would be a more appropriate epithet—to reason that a Christian Government should here be ashamed of its religion and suppress it. Why not then devote the £200,000 per annum, which may be assigned, as has been shown, to education, to the various Protestant Missionary bodies, who will undertake to open schools under competent teachers, wherever our European soldiery are stationed, which also are usually the points where the Eurasian children are most abundant? In a lump the sum may look large, but divide it among the stations of the Bengal, the Madras, and the Bombay Army, with their European outposts, and then it will dwindle into a moderate provision for so urgent a want. We write advisedly, *the various Protestant Missionary bodies*; because whatever denominations have struck root in any neighbourhood, be they Church of England, of Scotland, or of America, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Baptist, or Wesleyan, let them, if willing, undertake the labor of the education of Christian children in the neighbourhood of their Mission headquarters. You will thus secure able teachers, and at the same time secure for your Missionary teacher that sympathy, support, and society with his fellow-laborers in another department of the same field, which cannot but be encouraging and beneficial to himself and them. We do not under-rate the present regimental schools; they are better than nothing, and now and then a tolerable school-master sergeant or mistress may be seen; but let any one turn to the pay and audit regulations of the armies of India, and a glance will satisfy him as to the utter inadequacy of the educational provisions made by the Government. Wherever there are magazines, stations with European troops, or considerable detachments, a good teacher is indispensable, and the regimental school-master sergeants might, where existing, be his assistants.

Such schools should be open to the natives, if they chose voluntarily to send their children. It would soon be seen that they would be very well filled. Not one farthing of the £200,000 should be assigned to the Government schools established under the fostering care of the Education Committee. We would almost as soon recommend additional aid to the oriental colleges, where the "moral and religious tenets of their respective faiths" are supposed to be beneficially inculcated upon Mussalmans and Hindus, with the practical view of rooting out perjury and forgery. Every Indian official of experience will attest that the sensible effect produced by these

respect is too slight to be appreciable even at the seats of these *almæ matres* of moral and religious instruction; whilst the Government system of education is producing, with a small admixture of good, the results which Archdeacon Corrie foretold as the inevitable consequences of its establishment, all the evils of a vanity inflated with a superficial attainment of English, and a smattering of European science, without anything to restrain the corruption of the human heart and mind, and to check it in its excesses and extravagancies. Whilst the oriental colleges and the Government educational committee schools might be left precisely as they are, aid to such institutions as the Lawrence Asylum, or analogous ones formed elsewhere, would be quite in harmony with our proposal. Scientific institutions, such as Medical Colleges, schools for civil engineering in all its branches, but prominently for the study of steam machinery and railroad works, and for all connected with canals of irrigation and navigation, are of course excepted from the obnoxious category of Government schools in general, and cannot, being thoroughly practical, be too much encouraged.

The cause of Missions may be left to England, to Europe in general, to America; but the Anglo-Indian Government, though maintaining its disconnection from any Missionary body as such, need not apprehend the dissolution of the empire from evincing greater care than has hitherto been shown, for the proper and Christian education of the children of her British soldiery, or of that large class, the Eurasians; albeit such sedulous attention to the children of these classes were exhibited through the instrumentality of well-trained Missionary teachers.

In the course of the opening debates on the scope and objects of the committees, it is curious to observe the tendency to confound respect for the rights of others, with respect for their religions. A Christian Government may, and is, by its principles, bound to show the utmost respect for the rights of all its subjects, of whatever creed or denomination; but by those same principles, it is equally forbidden to compromise itself by the exhibition of respect to the religions of error, whether directly by upholding and encouraging their institutions, or indirectly by shrinking from acknowledging and acting up to its own Christian principles. Connection with idolatry, in whatever form, whether fiscal, or merely conservative, is a clear breach of those principles; and so likewise the establishment of a system of education which, by being ostentatiously wedded, so far as practicable, of Christian morality, is virtually to the millions of India, a sacrifice on the part of Government of its own religion to that of its idolatrous subjects, and has not

even the merits of a sincere sacrifice ; for as it is impossible to free our literature from the Christian elements, which, often unconsciously to the writers themselves, pervade the works of British authors, so there is no little hypocrisy in this pretended religio-neutrality of ground occupied. On this score we object to the Government system of education. Morally, its pretence of neutrality is a falsehood, it is a public and official torgivoration, the more reprehensible, as the lie is in homage to Mammon. We are no advocates for making the Bible a mere lesson-book, and for cramming it, with or without leave, down the throats of all men ; but we do object to Government opening schools under false pretences, and shrinking from avowing that, so far as Government is concerned in spreading the knowledge of English literature and science, there was no intention of suppressing the Christian morality, which more or less pervades the whole mass of all that is wholesome in the English language ; and that if scholars objected to this, they could keep away from the schools. In India the question is not whether one denomination of Christians shall prescribe to others a course and system of education ; but whether, in the face of a great variety of idolatrous creeds, some of which have been paramount in their day, a Christian Government shall alone be afraid or ashamed of avowing its own creed, and acting up to its principles. We roundly assert, that so far as the natives are concerned, it would be far better for the Government to withdraw altogether from the field of education than to demean itself by a lie in homage to error and idolatry. If afraid to avow the Christian morality and principles, which are the very life-breath of all that is sound in the English language, let Government withdraw, and leave the field to those who are not afraid to tell and teach the honest truth, the Missionary-school teachers.

How different from the open behaviour of either Mohammedan or Hindu, has been the conduct of the Anglo-Indian Government ! We have before us an amusing account, furnished by a friend, of the manner in which a convert from Hinduism to Mohammedanism was not long ago received by the ruler of a Mohammedan court. The durbar, the embrace, first by the ruler, then by the chiefs, the public festivity, and the unconcealed joy of all Moslems present, has something honest and open in it. We have no wish to see, and certainly no expectation of seeing, Lord Dalhousie hugging a Christian convert, passing him round for a brotherly embrace from each of the dignitaries of the Council ; then handing him over for the zealous accolades of the Secretaries, with a whole line of subordinate civil and military officials, and finally winding up with a grand

dinner party at Government House, the convert sipping champagne, and conspicuously placed as the man whom the king delighteth to honor. But, although we should be extremely sorry to see a convert put through such a course, the contrast between the exhibition of feelings in a Christian and Moslem Court is remarkable. Our readers can picture to themselves the shudder which the bare idea of such a scene would create both at Government House and in Leadenhall-street, and what apprehension for the fate of the Empire would be entertained. What "wise saws" to "our Governor-General in Council," and what admonitions to the gentlemen of that Council! In short, though perhaps conventional propriety would forbid the word, the whole administration would be thought, if not called, madmen. Yet we venture to assert, that among the native community, Hindu and Mussalman, so extraordinary an extravagancy on the part of a Christian ruler would be deemed a perfectly reasonable and natural occurrence; and would excite no further surprise than the contrast it would offer to the worse than indifference, the unmanly dread which our rulers have exhibited in all matters connected with their own religion, and the degrading manner in which, in homage to Mammon and idolatry, they have shrunk from acting up to its principles. Never did a more dastardly fear assume the mask of prudence and respect for the religion of others.

How far are the present revenue systems of India compatible with the progress of its millions, towards a state of higher wealth and civilization? How far do facts bear out the corollaries which Mr. Herries sought to deduce from figures, as to the growing wealth and merchandise-consuming ability of the people? The first is a very serious question, and closely connected with the second; and the committees might, with advantage, give thought to both. Again, how far is the Legislation now pouring forth from Calcutta, with a volume and velocity emulous of Parliamentary acts and of their rigmarole, suited to the wants and circumstances of India? The gentlemen of the two committees might, with no trifling advantage to India, take up a few of these Calcutta Acts, and having examined them, though we despair of their facing some of them, pronounce on the clearness, the precision, the absence of all redundancy, and the lucidity of arrangement which pervades them. The committees might then ascertain at what rate per annum these regulations and acts are springing into existence; what are the colleges or institutions which make the study of Anglo-Indian law an object; and what are the means taken by the Government, that

an ignorant people shall have imparted to them even a glimmering of the substance of the rapidly increasing civil and criminal code of laws on which their being and welfare depend. The committees too might, with no disadvantage to India, instead of being satisfied with the array of a few public works, sedulously made the most of on every occasion, ascertain exactly what is doing with respect to Rail Roads, whether those undertakings are on that comprehensive scale, which is best suited to the commercial, to the social, and to the political (i. e., the military) wants of India. Opium cultivation, thank to the portability of the article when manufactured, and to the highly remunerative prices it has long returned to those concerned in the trade, has been rapidly developed. Is there no prospect, by the combined aid of artificial irrigation and of Rail Roads, of bringing cotton and sugar under more favorable circumstances, both as to quality, quantity, and cost, to the seaboard, to the points of embarkation? With little besides her raw agricultural produce left her, in consequence of the annihilation of her textile fabrics, by the superior cheapness of the British manufactures, must India be stationary with reference to the remaining staple commodities on which her welfare depends? The case of the opium cultivation proves, that, however prejudiced it may be the custom to consider the native agriculturist, gain, that impulsive motive, makes him as ready to develop the production of any agricultural article, as the most cotton-thirsty soul of the Manchester school could wish. How is it, that America, with the cost of labor extremely high, has walked ahead of British India, so completely, in spite of the cheapness of labour in the latter country? Opium is the sole exception to the somnolency of the agricultural instincts of India: yet it proves amply, that when roused by remunerative rewards, and tolerably favourable circumstances, there is both great elasticity, and great energy in the agricultural capabilities of the people and country of India.

Connected with an investigation of these important considerations, would be the question, what checks the flow of British capital to India? Is the alleged want of security remediable? or in other words, are the Government measures and regulations at fault, or the character and institutions of the people, and the ignorance of capitalists in England?

The field widens and expands as one proceeds, and we must confess, that the committees, if they put their shoulders to the wheel, with a heart to do their duty, will find abundance of important matters demanding their investigation, far more than can be compressed, however sketchily, within the limits of a Re-

view article. Close, however, we cannot, without one warning remark. In the structure of this colossal Empire, the army is the iron column and rafter that forms the skeleton, and braces the whole vast edifice together; it is therefore both its strength and its weakness—its strength, if sound and well arranged; its weakness, if there be faults in the casting and in the *equilibrium* of the parts. The question, whether the armies of India should become in name, what they are in fact, the armies of the Crown, is one of very grave moment, not with reference to the change of name, for that in itself might be made a high compliment to the armies who, on so many hard-fought fields, have borne the Royal colors to victory; but with respect to the organic changes which might follow the transfer. Managed with attention to the present constitution of these armies, and to the peculiarities of the conditions of service in India, the change might be highly advantageous for England, and no detriment to India,—on the contrary, a benefit. But effected under any narrow spirit of class or service jealousy, the result might be rapidly evil. For England it cannot but be a great disadvantage, in case of necessity, that the Crown, instead of having the whole of its armies from whence to select instruments, should be limited to a small portion, and that thus the country should be deprived of the services of trained and experienced men, because two-thirds of the British army, and a far larger proportion of its artillery, are designate Company's troops. It is evident that, had the Indian armies been Royal ones, in the course of reliefs, exchanges, and the like, there would have been now, in case of conflict with any European foe, many an experienced officer available in England—a matter of no small moment in every arm; for of all trades, war is that in which experience is most indispensable, and usually most dearly bought. Though devoted to India's welfare, we are national enough to wish England to derive every possible advantage from this great school of soldiery; and provided this were not done at the expense of the efficiency of the Indian armies, and of the good feeling which fortunately pervades them, nothing but satisfaction could accrue from a measure calculated to improve the position of every man and officer in them, and to render available to the Crown a greater mass of military experience. Wisely, generously, and judiciously, however, the measure must be carried out, otherwise the present anomalous arrangement is under present circumstances best and safest.

Instead of entertaining apprehensions that the interests of the Indian army would suffer by that body becoming an integral part of the Royal army, we anticipate the very reverse; and

are confident that in case of war in Europe, her India-trained officers would occupy an analogous position to the Africa-trained officers of the French army; and England would have as large a field from which to select the men of established skill and courage as is enjoyed by any European state. France may boast of her African generals and officers; Russia of those who have served in the rough school of the Circassian frontier and in Hungary; Austria of the soldiery that saved the empire when revolt seemed the spirit of every province; but the men who have fought against Affghans, who have shared in the bloody conflicts with Scikhs; who have seen war in marshy Pegue, on the arid plains of the Punjaub, and amid the iron ridges of the Hindu Kush and the Suseid Roh, need not hesitate to compare their apprenticeship to the profession of arms with those who, in the West, have learnt their art amid other scenes and circumstances. The transfer of the army of India to the Crown needs, however, a more careful disquisition; a mere casual notice in the midst of other subjects cannot do the question justice, for it demands a grave, deliberate, and impartial review of the whole circle of its many most important bearings and associated difficulties.

NOTE:—On a question involving interests so vast and momentous as those that depend upon the renewal of the East India Company's Charter, it seems necessary that we should bring prominently before our readers, the principle on which the *Calcutta Review* was originally established, and on which it has been hitherto conducted. That principle is *Catholicity*. The Editor does not agree with all the sentiments expressed in the articles that are inserted in its pages. It seems to be not out of place to reproduce here, with reference to the preceding article, and to such as may hereafter appear in our pages respecting the question of the Charter, a portion of the advertisement that was prefixed to our first Number:—

"Of the general principles, on which our *Review* will be conducted, little need be said in this place, as in the following pages they are sufficiently apparent, but there is one point, in connexion with this matter, on which we consider it of so much importance to be clearly understood, that we must here devote a few words to an intelligible exposition of it. In the successive numbers of this *Review*, there is little doubt, that the quick-witted reader will detect many slight discrepancies of opinion. As the *Review* is the organ of no party; and the Editor perhaps the last of the many writers, meeting together in its catholic pages, whose own views are worthy to be converted into a Procrustes-bed, for the utilisation of other men's expositions, complete harmony of opinion, on lesser points of faith, is clearly not to be expected. In full reliance upon the character of our associates; the soundness of their principles; the purity of their intentions; their earnest aspirations after the good of their fellows, the general agreement of their opinions with our own; we are anxious, that each should express himself without restraint, especially upon such questions, as necessarily involve the putting forth of novel suggestions for the reform of existing evils. It is possible, that different writers may work, by different roads, towards the same goal; and that different schemes for the removal of existing abuses may be propounded in these pages, by different apostles of the same Reformation. We believe, that this, so far from impairing the value of our work, will greatly extend the sphere of its utility."

On a question, or rather a multitude of questions, respecting which so "much may be said on both sides," we believe that we shall best fulfil the objects for which the *Calcutta Review* was originally projected, by allowing several honest and earnest men to express their opinions, though their sentiments should differ widely from each other, and all should differ more or less, from our own.—ED.

**ART. VIII.—***Modern India, a sketch of the system of Civil Government, to which is prefixed some account of the Natives and Native institutions. By George Campbell, Esq., Bengal Civil Service. London. John Murray, Albemarle-street.*

A book or pamphlet on India, or on any part of it, written with any degree of accuracy, or with any pretensions to style, would be almost certain to command a fair proportion of attention at the present juncture. If a clerk at the India House, who had hardly been out of the sound of Bow Bells for the last ten years, were, by permission of the Court of Directors, to compile a few chapters on Modern India, from the records of the India House, or were an aristocratic traveller to give to the world his impressions of our administration, as gathered from a tour in the Upper Provinces, during the cold weather: were a philanthropist to conjure up a dreary picture of misrule, or a grievance-monger skilfully to distort facts, in two or three hundred pages, the publication in each instance would not fail to attract a certain amount of notice. But here we have a goodly volume of 553 pages, touching on every topic of past or present interest in the history of the Company, on which information is now desirable, and compiled from documents published under official sanction; and set off by a style, which, though not wholly faultless, never wearies or repels.

We deem it the more incumbent on us to notice Mr. Campbell's book at the present juncture, because the manner in which it has been handled hitherto, may possibly convey to readers at a distance an erroneous notion of its contents. Mr. Campbell has attacked the Indian Newspaper Press, and the Indian Newspapers, in a body, have retaliated on Mr. Campbell. Yet the notice accorded to the fourth estate in India, does not, including the objectionable foot-note about Joti Persad, which every one must allow should never have been written, fill more than three or four pages of the volume. Leaving therefore the Indian Newspaper Press to fight its own battles, in its own way, we proceed at once to survey some of the interesting topics grouped together by Mr. Campbell.

When an Indian professional author challenges attention, by a voluminous work on India, we naturally inquire what are his credentials? Where did he gain his information? In what departments has he served? is he one of the "crack collectors" and "capital district officers," or has he delighted to pore over old Sanscrit inscriptions and Persian parchments? Does he favour the Oriental or the English system of educating the

natives? Is he *Thebis nutritus an Argis?* A north-west man or a Bengali? One of the old or the new school? An answer to this will be readily given. Mr. George Campbell came out to this country just nine years and a half ago. Having passed college in about five months, he proceeded to the Upper Provinces, where he was employed first under the Lieut.-Governor, and latterly under the Lahore Board, in the Cis-Sutlej provinces, a locality which,—comprising some of the most remarkable tenures in India, the perfect village communities,—when brought under our exclusive management, afforded him ample opportunities for the observation of that curious spectacle, the junction of the old and the new regime. Mr. Campbell, we should state, is known to possess a strong turn for the exact sciences, and an excellent head for Law. We speak with a well-grounded confidence, when we say, that had Mr. Campbell been destined for the English Bar, he must have gone some way towards making the family name, already illustrated by his uncle, to assume its place in forensic annals by ~~the side of~~ <sup>Yes de robe.</sup> other well-known ~~family~~ <sup>and</sup> ~~ascertained what new~~ <sup>late</sup> led him to India, before it could be used. Campbell <sup>had</sup> ~~had~~ <sup>now</sup> ~~not~~ <sup>degree of legal eminence he could have compa</sup> ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> he is now known to the Indian authorities as a man of great energy, considerable experience, and original views, while to the general reader he is not wholly unknown, as the writer of the letters signed *ECONOMIST*, published three years ago in the *Mofussilite*.

We have heard it whispered in some quarters, that the style of the volume before us is not equal to that of those celebrated letters. Without at once pronouncing how far these allegations may be correct, we will first enquire into the circumstances under which the letters and the book were severally written. The crisis which drew forth *ECONOMIST*, though hardly to be forgotten by our readers, may be briefly adverted to. A fierce and important war was going on between the paramount power and its worthiest foe. The two rival armies had just been engaged in a bloody but indecisive battle. A fortress, as celebrated as Bhurtpore, had just fallen, after a protracted siege. The eyes of all India were fixed on the plains between the Chenab and the Jhelum. In one part of the picture there was an enemy united by a national spirit, such as we had never yet encountered, combining the apparently discordant elements of strict discipline, loose morals, and hot fanaticism, and aided by resources, mysterious in their origin, and unknown in their extent. On the other side was a British army, highly equipped and admirably appointed, which burned to avenge the bloody day of Chillianwala. The prize for which these two opponents

were contending, was a province, not so fertile, perhaps, as some of our older acquisitions, but still of great promise, to which, remarkable for its climate, position, and cultivating population, the eyes of statesmen, of captains, and of administrators, had been turned with many an anxious glance. Lastly, to complete the picture, we had a nobleman of barely one year's Indian experience, but with the head to contrive and the hand to execute great things, who, fearing no responsibility, was quietly waiting, until events might enable him to carry out a measure, which, after the trial of three years, expediency cannot question, nor the strictest morality condemn. But at that moment the success of the General, and the intentions of the head of the Government, were entirely matters for speculation. Just then appeared a series of letters, in quick succession, showing their writer to possess an intimate knowledge of the Sikh character, of the tenant proprietors, and of the capabilities of the tract on both sides of the Sutlej. Condensed, vigorous, earnest and animated, these letters communicated, pour forth on the important subject a flood of information not attainable elsewhere. There was, evidently, no attempt to cram for the spot man. The writer had dealt with Jat agriculturists, and he knew them well as rent-payers: he had spoken familiarly with grey-bearded Sikh soldiers, and he foresaw that, under good management, they might be induced to settle down quietly in their villages: he had surveyed the extent of our frontier, and he saw that the time had come for one decisive step. Writing from the fulness of knowledge, gradually acquired and carefully digested, he had no need to refer to statements to compare authorities, to weigh discrepancies, to reconcile discordant facts. He was on the spot, amidst the bustle of preparation, on a disturbed frontier, at an important crisis. Could another Punjab emerge from the ocean, and become the scene of two exciting campaigns, ECONOMIST, we doubt not, would be ready with another series. But it is one thing to write as the spectator of a great war, and another to condense from a dozen different accounts, oral and written, the extensive subjects of revenue, civil and criminal administration in the four Presidencies of India. A minute research into its, a laborious inquiry into the various theories concerning rent-payers and rent-takers, a condensation of documents procured from the India House, and of selected papers published by the Governments of Agra and Bengal, are not things likely to improve or embellish style. Moreover, a writer cannot be always straining after effect, and giving utterance to sharp and pithy sentences throughout a whole volume. The difference between Mr. Campbell as

ECONOMIST, and Mr. Campbell as a regular author, is no more than what might have been expected from the nature of their different tasks. But in the volume before us, barring a few blemishes, Mr. Campbell is always clear, always logical, and sometimes eloquent ; and we hope, presently, to put before our readers a selection or two from the more attractive parts of his volume, which shall fully convince them that ECONOMIST has not forgotten his cunning.

It is no unpleasing task to trace throughout the volume before us, the views held by its author on various stock Indian subjects, which have divided, and must still divide, all residents in India, who take any interest at all in the welfare of its inhabitants. Mr. Campbell is equally removed, as it appears to us, from the class who see in an English education, in an electric telegraph, in a line of railway, and in municipal institutions, (good things in their way,) an adequate remedy for all social ills, and from that class, which at one stage of its existence would have retained Sutti and sacrifices at Saugor, and at another would idolize and exalt the old native character, and think that ryots could never be happy, except under the good old rule. Mr. Campbell's sympathies are evidently with tenant cultivators, good hard-working village communities, active Punchees, and able-bodied thannadars. He has no regard for over-grown zemindars, whose very name, when translated into English, is an imposition on the public, and who have appropriated to themselves all the good things of ownership, without touching, even with their finger, any one of its duties. Vested rights, time-honoured privileges, usurpation sanctioned by prescription, when interfering in any way with the comfort of the agriculturist, find with him no favour. He is no admirer of men who will not work, and is much more tender to a Jat, even though he should tell lies "in a good-humoured" way, than to a Rajput spoiled by prosperity, though the latter, to the eyes of an enthusiastic admirer, should exhibit a manly bearing and a chivalrous spirit. On educational questions, Mr. Campbell looks to the village Dominic and the Vernacular schools, and would educate the more aspiring student, by a course of useful science, for which he conceives the natural temperament to be singularly fitted, rather than let loose on the country a host of young Hindus, steeped in Bacon and Milton, but destined to prove inefficient ministerial officers and inexpert thief-catchers. Young Bengal would clearly be no favourite with Mr. Campbell, and had he had any experience of the creature's upstart pretensions, offensive self-complacency, and down-right ill-breeding, he would have been more than ever confirmed in his views.

A desire to reduce the burden of taxation on the ryots, pervades the book; and this would be effected, he says, were we to make native independent states contribute to the defence of our natural frontier, and to the security of India from external aggression; or would have been effected long ago, had we not been needlessly indulgent to the occupants of rent-free tenures, and in this way alienated lakhs of rupees. Not that he would interfere with the just and reasonable claims of faithful servants of former Governments, or with grants devoted to religious or charitable purposes, or with the representatives of a really ancient landed aristocracy; but he would have all assignments to the Buckinghams of the East, to the "fiddler and buffoon" of some Oriental dynasty, to courtesans, and jades, and pampered favourites, swept into the coffers of the Treasury.

In the Courts, especially in the Civil Courts, Mr. Campbell sees great room for improvement; and in all he writes, there is a manifest tendency to assert the claims of simple procedure, sound law, and substantial justice, over the straining after technicality, and the minute observance of forms, which are so apt to mark the decisions of unprofessional lawyers, such as our civil judges. On this subject there is a very valuable note drawn up while Mr. Campbell was in this country, which shows, how in civil suits, in non-regulation provinces, a judge may get rid of encumbering forms, masses of irrelevant facts, and the whole tribe of professional rogues, mis-called Vakils, whose sole object is to make money, daikon the case, and mystify the presiding officer. Men who arraign the decisions of Company's Judges, should make some allowance for the difficulties experienced, when the Bar consists of a set of low, cunning, "brokers in litigation," as the natives call them, who are prepared to assert anything, and to deny, on principle, even the plainest, clearest, and simplest facts, advanced by their opponent.

The main axioms of Mr. Campbell's social and internal philosophy, are, as we interpret them, that we ought to preserve jealously the interests of village communities; that we should not commit ourselves to any decisive measure in revenue, before we have well ascertained our ground: that in police matters we should endeavour rather to detect the guilty, than be excessively apprehensive of the safety of the innocent; that mild, timid, and nerveless judges, who think that all policemen are practised torturers, and that all dacoits are unfortunate villagers against whom the policemen have a grudge, should find no resting place in a judicial cutcherry: that our business is to take the natives as we find them, to give them free scope for the development of their

natural abilities, their quickness of apprehension, their readiness of hand, and their power to do much with small means; to avail ourselves of their services in those posts, which the capacity of the low-born to suit themselves to higher dignities, enables them to fill with success: and to abandon the preposterous notion that they can readily be converted into self-governing Anglo-Saxons: a notion against which Sir T. Munro long since warned all Presidents of the Board of Control, and on which the *Daily News*, and some other English papers, seem deliberately bent.

Not less interesting is it to mark the meed of praise or censure which Mr. Campbell awards to several in the long line of "Proconsul on Proconsul." Warren Hastings is a man, who, thwarted by councillors, and opposed by the Supreme Court, held correct views regarding internal administration, endeavoured to do his duty, and met with persecution in return: and it is not uninstructive to observe how in late years the tide has turned somewhat in Hastings' favour, and justice is now done to his large local experience, his unshrinking firmness, and his statesman-like views. Lord Cornwallis is a philanthropic old gentleman, who dealt in imposing generalities, and thought that a land-owner in one of our midland counties at home, and a zemindar in a Bengal district, were men cast in the same mould. But he knew what he was about, when he had to deal with Europeans, and due acknowledgment is given to the success of his various enactments, and general administrative measures. Lord Teignmouth did what men in this country are constantly forgetting it is their duty to do, and that is, he gave a fair chance to the measures involved in the perpetual settlement, when once irrevocable, although he had been strongly opposed to that measure before it had passed. Let all functionaries, high and low, follow the example of this high-minded, honourable, and excellent man. It is fair, that while any debated measure is still unpassed, Government should give to public servants an opportunity of stating their views for or against the proposal. But the order once issued, the fiat once passed, the Draft Act once become good law, it is the imperative duty of every man, whatever be his views on the expediency of the measure, not to cast impediments in the way of its working, nor to encourage an underhand or factious opposition on the part of natives easily led by a superior, but by every means in his power, and by honest and hearty co-operation, to allow the obnoxious *ordonnance* a decent chance of success. We pass over the internal and external policy of subsequent Governors-General, until we come to Lord

William Bentinck. This nobleman, though regarded by Mr. Campbell as crotchety, and in some things impracticable, receives ample justice in the volume before us, for the depth, solidity, and excellence of his reforms. In his time all fees or commissions were abolished, merit rewarded, natives largely employed, educational establishments founded, courts simplified, a detective police organized for thugs and dacoits, vexatious transit duties abolished, and administrative reform promoted in all quarters. This, to say nothing of the one grand act, the abolition of Sutti, is a very fair catalogue of improvements, to be handed down to posterity, in connection with one man, and must place Lord William first in the ranks of Anglo-Indian reformers. With Lord William ends our financial prosperity. Lord Auckland was a mild and paternal Governor, but his amiability was closely allied to what is termed by philosophers the adjacent vice of weakness. Lord Hardinge was, with the exception of his regard for education, a fighting man, sent, by the good fortune of the Company, to save their empire at a critical period. Lord Ellenborough, we must give in Mr. Campbell's own words. After admitting his talent and ability, and allowing that he did much to infuse energy and method into subordinate departments, that he abolished vexatious duties in Bombay and Madras, and consolidated the system of Customs, Mr. Campbell says: —

But he was, at the same time, so hasty and inconsiderate, showed so much little and personal hostility to the civil employes of the State, added to his reforms so many unjust, vexatious, and unprofitable innovations; spitefully drove from office or kept down so many men distinguished by former services, raised to the most important posts so many men utterly inexperienced, but distinguished by his imperial whim and favour, after the manner of capricious autocracies, devoted so much of his attention to pomp, circumstance, and pageant; and contrived to effect all the evil so immediately, while he had not time to mature the good parts of his project, that from all these causes he, perhaps, did more harm than good.

We are induced to think, that in the above estimate, and in other occasional mention of Lord Ellenborough, full justice is not done to this nobleman's great discernment as a statesman. He saw the coming events even before their shadows announced them; and there can be no doubt, that, eccentric as he was occasionally, and often unjust to distinguished men, he manifested great insight into character and capacity, and detected *shams* with astonishing correctness. But he made fearful havoc of the "acting allowances" of covenanted officers, and this fault, in Mr. Campbell's eyes, is not easily pardoned.

We observe, throughout, an indication in Mr. Campbell, to place men, regularly bred to civil business, and masters of all

minute internal details, higher in the scale of Governors, than men distinguished by striking political or diplomatic services. In this he has our entire sympathy and hearty concurrence. To this day, in England, amongst all persons who affect the slightest knowledge of India, there is a tendency to think that no man can attain to real eminence in the service, unless he has been either a resident, an envoy, or an ambassador. The pomp and circumstance, as well as the high emoluments of the office, have something to do with this. Scott introduces Miss Julia Mannering as reminding her father, the Colonel, of the times when they had their own chaplain at the "Residency;" and something of the same feeling exists now. Oriental diplomacy, fights of elephants and tigers, ceremonious meetings, durbars, imposing *khurridas* tied up with silver thread, representatives of Mogul sovereigns and great Mahattha Houses, wise vizirs with old saws on their lips, important state secrets, female favourites, who govern the reigning prince, by the power of their charms as well as by true feminine tact and quickness, *musnuds*, *guddies*, *istikhals*, and all the other high sounding phraseology—these are the various topics to the study of which the best years of a man's life may be worthily devoted, and which may lead him, at length, to Pareil House or to Guindy, or to a place in the Supreme Council. We entirely agree with Mr. Campbell, in thinking that a thorough knowledge of all the details of internal administration, gives the best security for a man's efficiency as head of a large province or Governor of a Presidency. A man like Mr. Thomason is worth all the Politicals in the world. A man like Mr. John Lawrence, regularly "bred to the trade," to borrow an expression from ECONOMIST, will do more to organize a good system in a new and splendid acquisition, than the best Persian scholar, or the most experienced diplomatist.

We are not sure that we quite agree with Mr. Campbell, in what appears to us, his opinion of the relative merits of two great Indian Governors, Munro and Elphinstone. That opinion, it is true, is nowhere fully or forcibly expressed; but from scattered passages, and notices of either, we are inclined to think that he places Elphinstone above Munro. Certain it is that he defers to Elphinstone's views on revenue, in the same manner as a young member of the House at home might defer to an opinion expressed by the late Sir R. Peel. But he directly impugns the correctness of Munro's views on revenue matters in the Madras Presidency. A writer must have great confidence, who should venture to break a lance with a man whose knowledge was drawn from the fountain

head, whose experience had been attained by an habitual intercourse, for months together, with villagers in the Baramahl or the jungles of Canara, and whose opinions, on delicate points of revenue, are, to this day, looked on with admiration by able members of the Madras service. We have, however, neither the time nor the minute knowledge sufficient to go into the matter at issue between Munro and his "wrong-headed" board, whose cause Mr. Campbell manfully espouses. *Au reste*, we must be permitted to think that Munro, as a Governor, bears away the palm, not merely from Elphinstone, but from every other member of either the Civil or Military Service, who became a Governor, being reared solely in India. A person, of whom the most brilliant orator of the day said, that Europe had not produced a more accomplished statesman, nor India, fertile in heroes, a more skilful soldier, whose minutes are models of official composition, who is looked on by ryots to this day as their father, whose doings in the field with raw levies, contemptible means, and insufficient supplies, drew from one of his most distinguished contemporaries a tribute of honest admiration to "*Tom Munro Saheb, the master-workman*:" who was equally at home and in his place, whether he guided the civil administration of the Presidency, or in his own manly and open fashion, criticised the military operations of the great captain, to the great captain himself—has surely claims to a rank in the Indian gallery of worthies, which are hardly possessed by Elphinstone, by Hastings, or by Clive.

To attempt to review, in succession, all the various subjects, which have been skilfully grouped, and lucidly arranged, by Mr. Campbell, would be too great a task. This would lead us into every topic of interest which, for the last ten or twenty years, has been variously discussed in every official circle, or formed the staple matter for agitation by the press. We shall therefore content ourselves with briefly enumerating the main features of the book, and reserve for more prolonged notice two or three points which seem to possess general interest. A lucid sketch of various tribes of Hindus, with their institutions and settlement in the Upper Provinces, clears the way for a sketch of the country and the people, as we found them, and affords Mr. Campbell scope for displaying his knowledge of the social characteristics of the Hindus and Mohammedans of Northern India, with whom his time of service has been chiefly spent. This chapter will be found to contain a fair and candid estimate of the good and bad qualities of the natives, in which full allowance is made for the kindly feelings which actuate them, in regard to the treatment of poor relations, and no disguise is cast over the general want of truth-

fulness, which is our worst opponent in every reform. • Next comes a chapter, written on the great principle, that before we can thoroughly understand the nature of our present rule, and the general system of our administration, we must have some acquaintance with the legacy which the former masters of India had left us; with the foundations on which we have reared a somewhat complicated structure, and with the machinery of native Governments, which we variously adopted or despised. Our external policy, and the course of our internal reforms and improvements, are discussed in two chapters more. One chapter is accorded to the Government, as it now exists, under the last Charter, and another to the training, qualifications, character, pay and efficiency, not only of the covenanted and uncovenanted services, but also of the officers of the police and revenue establishments. Two chapters more bring us through the land revenue in every Presidency, including the lately-settled Punjab, and the other sources of income, such as the opium, the excise, the salt tax, and the minor additions afforded by stamps, tributes, or local taxes. From a chapter giving the history of our financial position, the student of Indian subjects will learn the origin of our "National debt," and the state of the balance sheet as it now is, and he will derive materials for hope in the picture therein displayed. Two chapters more close the book. One gives the police and criminal administration, the other the system of civil justice, and we venture to prophesy that the statistics of crime, and the details of our police management, will not be the least interesting to the English reader at home. It is of course not to be imagined, that in dealing with all the above varied subjects, the author can talk with the fulness of confidence, which careful personal examination and prolonged intercourse alone can warrant. But the theory which pervades his book is, that in spite of local differences, for which he is disposed to make allowance, a striking similarity in general matters characterises the social system of India, even in localities and amongst tribes remote from each other. Bearing this in mind, as well as the fact, that Mr. Campbell's experience lies mainly in the countries between the Jumna and the Sutlej, the reader, to whatever part of India he may belong, will find much to interest, much to instruct, and as a natural consequence of the comprehensive character of the book, something occasionally to be questioned. He will read a great deal that bears the irrefragable evidence of personal enquiry and local investigation, and a great deal more, that shows the pains taken to arrive at accurate information, by recourse to authentic documents. He will, in short, find to his hand the most copi-

ous details of the present Government of India, packed into the smallest compass, and explained in the clearest manner.

On no points does Mr. Campbell's experience enable him to speak with more effect, than on the revenue system of Northern India. In fact, the chapters on the revenue will be, to the Indian official at least, the most interesting of the book. They evince that sound knowledge of the just principles of settlement-making, which proves that its possessor can both "settle" a village satisfactorily and write a good book. Light is thrown on that troublesome question, as to the ownership of the soil, which has been so repeatedly discussed, not merely in minutes and reports, and newspaper controversies, but even in Indian novels; and it is satisfactorily laid down, that various proprietary rights do exist together, and that "different persons may have 'different rights, duties or privileges, in the same thing or under 'the same name." These different kinds of tenures and rights, are then divided into four kinds, exclusive of jaghirdars or tributary chiefs, and the mode in which revenue is collected, either from a village community under one head man, or from a perfect village community, democratic, self-governing, and a model to all settlement men, or from a village zemindar, or from the zemindar of a district, whose possessions may be as large as the thanali or the zillah itself, is then described with clearness and precision. But as there is no point by which Mr. Campbell's powers, as an Indian author, are better set off than by the revenue system, so in that system there is nothing which is more attractive than his elaborate description of village communities, from their imperfect form under a head man, whether he be known as Patel, or Mundul, or Mokuddum, to the full-grown, well-developed, and symmetrical constitution, where they appoint their own managers, and acknowledge a due sense of responsibility. On this latter subject, the Author is entirely at home. He speaks and writes as a man who has conversed with Puncches, instructed village accountants, watched the progress of agriculture, and even attempted it as an amateur, adjusted boundary disputes, arranged masses of records, touched the revenue due on account of Government to the last cowrie, and regarded with a jealous eye the entrance into a village, happy and united, of a stranger who would sow there the elements of discord, litigation and decay. In no work that we know of, have the peculiar characteristics of these remarkable constituencies been depicted with so true a pencil, and in such appropriate colours. Every remarkable feature of the village community is pourtrayed to the life. Their various degrees of strength and stability; their mar-

vellous cohesion: the organization which remained unimpaired, while successive invaders overran the provinces, and the Mahratta cavalry made forays up to the very walls of Delhi: the corn lands and the pasture grounds, on the boundaries of which many a bloody affray has taken place: the interior survey of the village, which records minutely the dimensions of every field, the name of every proprietor, and the nature of the various soils: the registry of rights, which enables the revenue officer to decide, at a glance, any point eventually disputed: the village banker, who has no landed interests, but who soon finds, that capital, under any circumstances and in any community, is strength: the village accountants, who have a three-fold duty to perform, to Government, to the proprietors, and to the tenants: the system, in short, which aims at a middle course, and studiously avoids the inconvenience of dealing with each individual cultivator, and the error of throwing too much power and influence into the hands of a single land-holder: the joint responsibility and the common advantage—all this and a great deal more is so clearly set forth in the volume before us, that it ought to leave no enquirer into our revenue system, no young civilian commencing his work, any excuse for not thoroughly mastering the subject. Yet it may be necessary to warn some persons against inferring from the picture drawn by Mr. Campbell, that these communities would be willing to undertake a joint responsibility, in subjects other than the time-honored land-tax. Because Mr. Campbell has discovered a remarkable resemblance between a Jat village and an Anglo-Saxon village (page 52), let no person imagine that he will find it an easy task to implant in a Jat community the energy, the self-reliance, and the self-government of an English corporation. We are quite certain, from other parts of the work, that Mr. Campbell would be the first person to protest against any such inference. The reason of the thing, to a person who knows anything of the native character, or who interprets this volume with common candour, is not far to seek. The land-tax, in the eyes of a good Jat, or indeed of any other decent cultivator, is the indefeasible, immemorial, right of the paramount power. It is the part of a good subject to pay it with readiness, so it be not excessive, as a tribute of obedience and an expression of good will. Where communities, bound together perhaps, by the ties of casto, and certainly by mutual interest, have been used to the agencies of *Punches* and *Lumberdars*, from time out of mind, it is no wonder if a Government, anxious to adopt and improve the best instruments of the native system, can manage to make associations

like these to work wonderfully well. But let any theorist just try to induce a set of Rajpûts, or even Mr. Campbell's sturdy friends, the Jats, to assess themselves at two annas a head, to raise a sum for conservancy purposes: let him endeavour to make them apply the self-governing principle to the digging of wells, the laying down of roads, the erection of schools, or the foundation of dispensaries—and see what the result would be. The reception such a philanthropic individual would meet with, were he to try first by persuasion, and next by "salutary compulsion," to carry out his favourite views, is not difficult to conceive. Were he "one of the prophets," to quote a phrase to which Mr. Campbell is evidently partial, he would infallibly be sent back from the village, by a demonstration which would have nothing Anglo-Saxon about it, save its extreme vigour.

The mention of these village communities, and of the great success which has attended their working in Upper India, brings us not unnaturally to a locality in which village communities are not, and to the system prevalent in the lower division of the Presidency, which is placed, in this book, in unfavourable contrast to that of Agra and the Punjab. It is almost superfluous to say that there are no village communities, nor any very distinct traces of them, in Bengal Proper. We have head men in name, but not in function, village gomashthahs, respectable and substantial ryots, with their bullocks and their buffaloes; but we have no Puncches, no symbolical ploughs, no village officials, except the watchmen, who are invested with consequence, and are responsible to their constituents.

It is clear too, from this book, that as matters stand at present, the vitality and efficiency of these tenures are in the highest ratio between the Sutlej and the Jumna, that they decrease in the Doab of Hindostan, become faint and indistinct in the provinces of Benares and Behar, and are entirely lost in the rich plains of Lower Bengal. No doubt, as the value of these communities was more appreciated, and as our revenue experience increased, we exerted ourselves to re-build, to construct, or to consolidate them in the late settlement of the North West Provinces, and, the other day, in organizing a system for the Punjab. In these localities we found them often instinct with life, endeared to the people, and understood by the native revenue authorities. We did well to watch them with fostering care, and to guard them from violation by men of pre-conceived ideas. But we much doubt, whether these communities had ever any defined existence in Bengal, whether in the last century we found even their frame or skeleton, whether if they ever had existed

in full force previously, we could then have pieced them together, and given to them coherence, unity, and shape. We are induced to think that what is now the case with these tenures, has always been so, and that they were either not generally introduced into Bengal, or if introduced, that they soon became disorganized in localities to which they were not well suited. No Bengal collector, who valued his peace of mind, would wish to have his district over-run with these communities, if they could be suddenly called into existence by some miraculous agency. Amongst a people where litigation is far more common than in upper India,—where unity, or combination, or steadiness of purpose, in a righteous cause, for one common object, is almost unknown, — where subletting seems the normal condition of the agricultural population,—it is difficult to believe that these communities, if constructed on the most scientific principles, could hold together for a month. Though it is true that various castes prevail more in some parts of the country than in others, that it is not unusual to find Bengal villages inhabited wholly by Mussulmans, or by some low Hindu caste, yet we have not tribes who, like the Jats or even the unruly Rajpûts, herd together in particular villages, without inter-mixture, and have a natural adaptation to the joint system. But independently of our strong doubts as to these communities being suited to Bengal, we see passages in the work before us, which raise some uncertainty as to their superlative good character, and undeniable excellence. These will best be seen by a review of the objections taken by Mr. Campbell to the "Perpetual Settlement," under which he says that we have the misfortune to live.

In all that the author says regarding the imperfect information on which that great measure was devised, perfected and carried out, we concur. The boundaries of estates were not defined. The capabilities of the land had not been ascertained. The rights of under-tenants and small proprietors were not always duly protected. Lord Cornwallis vainly imagined that a landed aristocracy in Bengal would furnish, in every generation, numerous specimens of the gentleman of the old school. The zamindars of the present day are an "unthrifty, rack-renting" set of people, who oppress their tenants, and only care to make the largest profit possible. Many of the advantages calculated on by the founder of the system, have proved visionary. In all this we agree with Mr. Campbell, who laments over slighted opportunities, and great chances neglected, and who is lost in astonishment at the haste and presumption with which so

important a measure was disposed of. But we are unable to concur with him, when he assumes that the increase of population and the spread of agriculture in Bengal, are to be wholly accounted for by "eighty years' protection from external war," and by the "absence of any great internal calamity;" or when he thinks that the "fertility, population, or productiveness of Bengal have, perhaps, been exaggerated;" or when he believes, on what data we know not, that rent, as distinguished from revenue, is "much lower" in Bengal "than in the best districts of the Upper Provinces" (page 321).

Now we have to observe that large zemindaries have always existed in Bengal. They are to be found in the rent-roll of Akbar, where familiar names of families existing to this very hour, are mingled with others which have entirely faded away from amongst the landed gentry. It is true that when we took possession of the country, we found that a great deal of the revenue was collected by farmers or hereditary superintendants, whom we certainly metamorphosed into land-holders, with some degree of precitancy, and whose descendants, in the third or fourth generation, are now the Roys and Chowdaries of large landed estates. The mistake, however, was not in the recognition of these men as zemindars, nor in giving them permanency, but in neglecting to secure the just rights and titles of others more nearly connected with the soil. A zemindar who knows that he can only be turned out for default, even though he be "rack-renting and unthrifty," is a better man any day, than a farmer whose term is only for ten years or less, and who, at the expiration of that time, must give way to his successor. At the perpetual settlement, we had no choice, except to continue the farming system, changing the collectors at any time, or to recognize some set of collectors as proprietors in the English sense of the term. The mischief was, that things were done in too great a hurry, and the condition of the under-tenants, and actual cultivators, was not properly understood. But these tenants or inferior holders, whose rights, Mr. Campbell says, have been "utterly swept away," have rather emerged into a better position than they previously held, and have become village talukdars, or hold by *Mourun*, or *Mukarrari*, or some other similar title. As to the poverty and misery of the actual ryot, so much insisted on by several writers at the present day, we deny that matters are as bad as represented. What strikes the eye most in any village or set of villages, in a Bengal district, is the exuberant fertility of the soil, the sluttish plenty surrounding the *Grihastha*'s abode, the

rich foliage, the fruit and timber trees, and the palpable evidence against anything like penury. Did any man ever go through a Bengali village, and find himself assailed by the cry of want or famine? Was he ever told that the ryot and his family did not know where to turn for a meal, that they had no shade to shelter them, no tank to bathe in, no employment for their active limbs? That villages are not neatly laid out like a model village in an English county, that things seem to go on, year by year, in the same slovenly fashion, that there are no local improvements, and no advances in civilization, is all very true. But considering the wretched condition of some of the Irish peasantry, or even the Scotch, and the misery experienced by hundreds in the purlieus of our great cities at home, compared with the condition of ryots who know neither cold nor hunger, it is high time that the outcry about the extreme unhappiness of the Bengal ryot should cease.

We do not, however, charge Mr. Campbell with encouraging any outcry of the above kind, but we are convinced that he has managed to under-rate the fertility of this province, and that, had he enjoyed the same facilities of observation for only a few months, in a good-sized district, within a couple of hundred miles of Calcutta, as he has enjoyed in Upper India, his picture of the Bengali would have been as correct, as graphic, and as animated as that of the Pungies, and their worthy constituents.

The perpetual settlement is, theoretically, the kind of system most calculated to encourage the spread of agriculture, the foundation of new villages, the establishment of new hauts or bazars, and the clearance of heavy jungle.\* There is no fear of eventual demand on the part of Government for revenue on culturable land brought into cultivation, no jealous scrutiny, which counts the months and years that have yet to run, before the old settlement shall expire. Under such a system, the amount of money derived from land, which circulates entirely in the district amongst the land-holder and under-tenants, will probably be very considerable. In a rich country too, where energy and vigorous management are not the characteristics of zemindars, such a system would naturally call into existence a considerable number of middlemen, who would continue to be supported almost exclusively by their rents. If this be granted as correct in theory, we have but to enquire what are the practical results of the measure. We find then, that in some districts the jungle has entirely disappeared. A man may go for miles in any direction, east and north of the metropolis, and see plains succeeding to plains, where there is not one bigha of unproductive

soil, and where many thousand bigabs give their return of two crops in the year, without irrigation, and without that careful labour which seems indispensable, in the Upper Provinces, to successful agriculture. More new bazars, (a very profitable source of wealth, if the zemindar or talukdar only knows how to manage them), will be found to have been established within the last thirty years, than old bazars to have decayed. The circulation of money in the interior of such districts, is very considerable. The number of men who derive competence and consequence from the soil, is large. Is it fair to say, that all these results are independent of the perpetual settlement? But Mr. Campbell maintains, as it appears to us, two positions, somewhat incompatible with each other. He gives it as his opinion, that whatever increase, in wealth, population and cultivation, has taken place in Bengal, has taken place in spite of the settlement of Lord Cornwallis, and he then concludes by saying, that after all, the "fertility, population and productiveness of Bengal have, perhaps, been exaggerated." He at first seems unwilling to admit that the obnoxious measure has ended in the accumulation of wealth and the increase of rents from land,—both of which facts, however, he finds it almost impossible to get over,—and then he throws in a qualifying suggestion, to the effect, that the highly-landed fertility of the Gangetic Delta is, perhaps, a highly wrought fiction. We do not say that so acute a reasoner as Mr. Campbell deliberately places these two opposite statements in juxtaposition, but we think that any person who will weigh the statements made in pages 320 and 321 of the book, will be of opinion that there is some slight contradiction in the text. Either, it seems to us, the perpetual settlement must have had a very beneficial tendency, or the fertility and resources of Bengal are such as it is almost impossible to exaggerate, or without personal investigation, even adequately to conceive. But it must not be insinuated in one and the same breath, that the perpetual settlement is a bad measure, and alluvial Bengal a poor soil.

The truth is, that both causes, the productive resources of the country, and the tendency of the revenue system to add to those resources, have, probably, contributed to make the appearance of the country what it now is. The famine of which Mr. Campbell speaks as having occurred just before the perpetual settlement, or, at any rate, just before we entered on the enquiries which led to that result, took place some twenty years previous to the rash act of Lord Cornwallis. But as a specimen of the comparative fertility of Bengal and the Upper Provinces,

we will give first Mr. Campbell's own account of the amount of rents in the North West, and then our own account of rents in Bengal, drawn from personal observation and enquiry. In page 336, Mr. Campbell says:—

Generally speaking, rents in the North West Provinces vary from 2s. to 2l. per acre; tolerably good grain land is generally from 4s. to 10s.; good cotton land is not to be had for less than 10s. to 15s.; and sugar-cane land fetches up to the highest price which I have mentioned, and even more. At Nuginah, in Rohilkund, the sugar-cane land sometimes brings as much as 3l. 10s. per acre. About one-third of the whole cultivated land is irrigated from wells.

If by rents we are to understand the return of the land to the cultivator or the tenant proprietor, for the crop or crops which are sown therein during the year, we can only say, that the fertility of Bengal, as compared with that of the Upper Provinces, is even greater than we supposed. The highest amount of good grain land with Mr. Campbell, is, in Indian coin, five rupees an acre, and an acre equals, on an average, about three bigahs. But the late crop of Bengal rice, reaped about December or January, frequently produces five, six, eight, and sometimes even ten rupees a bigah, that is, in any case, more than treble the amount of the highest rate of grain land in Upper India. There is certainly some ambiguity in the early part of the passage just quoted, and we are not now certain, whether we are to understand the term rent as signifying the sum which one of Mr. Campbell's Jats gets as the return of the crop of grain, or as the sum which he hands over to the village zemindar, if he has one, or as the sum for which land can be "had" or rented by a speculator, or agriculturist; but we incline to the former interpretation. But there can be little doubt as to the statement regarding sugar-cane. This valuable product "brings," that is to say, repays to the cultivator, sometimes as much as seventy shillings or thirty-five rupees an acre, in a favored locality in Rohilkund. Now sugar-cane is extensively cultivated in many districts in Bengal, where it requires considerable capital, labour, watchfulness, and care. But it is often known to pay at rates varying from twenty rupees to forty rupees a bigah, that is to say, at a rate which at the lowest much more than equals, and at the highest far transcends the return from the most favourable instance which the author's experience or enquiry can suggest. In fact, to satisfy all doubts as to the fertility of the respective countries, we think that an enquirer has only to glance at them. Independent of irrigation, careless about wells, the Bengal ryot turns up his rich loam after the first favourable shower, sows or plants his rice, and reaps

either one magnificent, or two very fair crops, from the same soil, within the period of nine months. In Upper India—*venit vilissima rerum, hic aqua*—irrigation is actually paid for in tracts bordering on the canals, or is jealously doled out by the village corporation, from the village wells. With all this, the one country is to the eye arid, barren, and desolate. The other speaks to the painter as well as to the farmer, and even during the hot season, appears to defy the virulence of the sun. In variety of crops, in fruits and in vegetation generally, the fertility of Bengal is patent to the most careless observer. Its supply of rain-water, and the number of its rivers, give it an advantage, which it is vain to arrogate for Upper India. The rotation of crops, which Mr. Campbell speaks of, as well understood in the Agra Presidency, is almost unknown in Bengal, at least, as a compulsory system, because it is not required. The never-failing rice crop covers the whole country, for one season of the year; while, in the cold weather, the variety of other products, nearly rivals the variety of crops in the Upper Provinces, where no one staple is so exclusively grown, as rice is in Bengal. Here we have pease, mustard, oats, barley, three or four sorts of vetches, the sola or gram, millet, in short every thing but wheat, and in Bchar even that. In these winter crops, the superior fertility of Bengal may, possibly, be not quite so manifest. But the Bengal Indigo confessedly ranks above that of the Upper Provinces, and in other kinds of cultivation, such as tobacco, mulberry, date trees, sugar-cane, the returns here are much beyond those of the North West. Then take the appearance of the villages themselves, the in-field, as old writers would have termed it, in contra-distinction to the out-field. What appears to a stranger a dense mass of unhealthy vegetation, which gives shelter to wild beasts and originates epidemic disease, is, in reality, a series of productive plantations, such as, in the course of a few years from its foundation, invariably spring up round every Bengali village. Groves of the mango or the jack, shut out every ray of the sun. Clumps of bambú afford their owner the materials wherewith to build his hut, or are, sometimes, when water-carriage is available, carried to a considerable distance for sale, and even to Calcutta. Other fruit and timber trees, while they appear to cumber the ground, in reality greatly increase the rent. In short, when we consider the quick growth and large returns of the staple crop in Bengal, the shoals of fish that are yearly produced, not merely in every tank and river, but in every rice swamp, the redundant vegetation, the brilliant colouring, and the comparatively small amount of labour which

is expended on the soil by the cultivator, it is almost impossible not to allow to Bengal a natural productiveness bordering on the marvellous.

Leaving, however, the question of the relative fertility of Bengal and Agra, we proceed to notice a point bearing on the revenue systems in force in either province, on which Mr. Campbell's book leaves us in little doubt. The point is, which system is, by its facility for expansion, and its adaptation to the generally improving circumstances of the country, best calculated to stand in the long run? Now in this, it is clear to us, that the best system is that which makes land to be readily marketable, which affords scope for the employment of capital, which invites commercial enterprize and encourages speculation, which has no particular privileges to guard with jealousy, and no exclusive rights to protect, and which is not likely to break down as society advances, civil relations become more complicated, and foreign elements are mixed up with native ones. That such are not the characteristics of the village communities, so much praised, and so suited to the Upper Provinces, we have abundant evidence from the manner in which Mr. Campbell almost forebodes their dissolution. After describing the system of the newly annexed territories in the Punjab, he warns all administrators, that the village communities must be protected in their primitive integrity, and that the whole machine will go to pieces, if a stranger is let into the magic circle. After describing how the experience of the North West enabled us to manage matters skilfully in the Punjab, he goes on to say, page 345:—

But there is one point, the practice on which is yet to be regulated, and about which I am anxious. As the members are jointly liable and jointly owners of the whole village, I do not think that the land in possession of each is so far a separate property that individuals can sell it to a stranger without the consent of the community. It never has been so sold; and if we should ever in these territories have civil courts, such as those in the provinces, and the shares are sold in execution of decrees, a very great injustice is done to the other holders, and the constitution of the village being invaded, will fall to pieces; for no extraneous or dissimilar member will amalgamate in so complicated a machine. It is wonderful that these corporations work so well as they do, but, while accepting the fact, the most useful and profitable fact, that they do work in their native condition, we must remember that we cannot engraft on them incompatible institutions, without spoiling all; and that in this way we have ruined and are ruining the communities in the provinces. No present debts were contracted on the faith of sale of landed property, for hitherto it has not been sold, and yet the cultivators have, as members of and with the assistance of the community, quite credit enough. It is by no means desirable to increase that credit by making their landed rights auctionable by civil process; such a course is incompatible with the rights, and even with the existence, of the

communities ; I think it should be as before, that if a man break down, his land goes to the community, who are liable for the revenue. Creditors will then manage prudently, instead of throwing money at careless proprietors in order to appropriate their landed rights, as is every day done in the provinces. Some rights are of much greater value to their possessors than they will fetch in the market, and should not be dealt with after our mercantile fashion.

This, to our thinking, is decisive. The villages are models, so long as they remain in their simple, original, and primitive shape. But there must be no civil actions. Land must not be real property, by the aid of which ready money can be advanced, or credit be assured, and mercantile transactions be carried on. The collector is not merely to be the agent of Government, to reconcile boundary disputes, to warn dilatory cultivators that their shares will be taken from them, and given to men who can and will work, but he is to stand over his village with a watchful eye and in a threatening attitude, to drive away all intruders from the hallowed ground. Can that system be so admirable, as it has been described, where its first vital principle is ~~merely~~ illusion of all progress ? Is that body likely to possess no one ~~parts~~ of vitality and advancement, which is thus revetches, to be recruited entirely from itself, and which, if it and in Beh, to be renovated and revived from within, dissolves fertility of B, it comes in contact with anything from without ? the Bengal In village community, carefully constructed, and Provinces, and set of native or European officers well up to mulberry, date ~~to~~ fleet great credit on our executive Govern- those of the Nok pleasing picture of the fashion after which villages themselves administered, and its host of ~~truly~~ prac- termed it, in contra- litigat<sup>delays</sup>, to be deprecated. But is this exclu- to a stran<sup>delays</sup> to go on for ever ? Are we always to be resisting the siveness to go on for ever ? Are we always to be resisting the inevitable march of civilization with its good and bad effects ? Shall the diversified, intricate, but yet beneficial interests of our social system be never allowed full play, without let or hindrance ? There is something not altogether satisfactory in the theory and first principles of a revenue administration, which avows such maxims, and contemplates such ends.

Very different is the case with the abused perpetual settlement. We contend for this measure, that it has nothing of exclusiveness, or limitation about it, and that under its operation, land may one day become the true basis of credit, and the pivot of honest commercial adventure. There is, no doubt, a great deal to be done in several ways to ameliorate the system

as it stands. On the one hand, the rights of under-tenants require protection from the overpowering influence of the zemindar, and on the other, intending purchasers require some assurance, that if they purchase an estate, they shall acquire not nominal, but real possession of their bargain. Every person conversant with landed interests in Bengal, knows too well the delays, and the inconveniences, and the numerous obstructions to be encountered by an Englishman or foreigner, however determined, who wishes to become a proprietor of land. But these are evils not beyond the power of reform, nor inherent in the system. Land may change hands by sale for default of revenue, by a decree of the Civil Court, or by private arrangements, without a cry being raised that the main spring of the revenue administration has been thereby damaged. There are no special immunities to be protected, no societies into which the entrance of a stranger is as a brand of discord, no complicated machinery which requires to be isolated, in order that it may work. Then again, take the farming system, or that of giving lands in *ijarah*, for a term of years, against which so much has been written. The comparative facility with which this is effected in Bengal, has proved, especially to Europeans, of the very greatest advantage. Nothing is more common than for the managers of a large Indigo concern, to obtain from the zemindars the farm of an estate. This facilitates the cultivation of Indigo, often leads to a more punctual realization of the Government revenue, and prevents sale by default, and is naturally connected with the free circulation of capital through the district. Moreover, a measure of this kind may tend to improve the condition of the ryot. An Indigo-planter, who obtains a portion of an estate in farm, will be enabled to carry on his cultivation with much less opposition, as he deals with his own ryots, than one who has to employ menaces in this quarter, and entreaties in that, and to exhibit a restless activity everywhere, in order that the neighbouring zemindars may be induced to allow their ryots to sow indigo for him. The ryot, we say, has thus a chance of better treatment, for no European will be merciless towards the cultivators in two modes, at one and the same time, in exacting his rents with severity, and in compelling the cultivation of indigo. Either there will be a remission in the severity of the collections, or there will be no increase to the amount of land set apart for Indigo. But the rice land will not be encroached on, and rents harshly exacted, by the same person, on the same estate. Under the perpetual settlement, all this is constantly taking place, and matters are managed without

in Nuddea, the 24 Pergunnahs, Pubna, Bhaugulpore, Purneah, Balasore, Cuttack and the three districts of the Chittagong division.

*Nuddea*.—Deficiency Rs. 18,014. In this district the deficiency is more than accounted for by suspensions from the demand against resumed rent-free estates to the amount of 20,742 rupees, pending enquiries into complaints of over-assessment.

*24-Pergunnahs*.—Deficiency Rs. 1,14,790. The deficiency is more than accounted for by old balances outstanding from Purneah, about to be written off as irrecoverable.

*Patna*.—Deficiency Rs. 16,028. The deficiency is more than accounted for by old irrecoverable items, some reported and some under report for remission. At the close of the first quarter of the succeeding year, the total balance was reduced from Rs. 1,87,722 to Rs. 39,639, of which only Rs. 1,320 belonged to the current revenue, and the rest to previous years, being the remains of a very large amount of old balances which have been sifted and disposed of, principally during the past three years.

*Bhaugulpore*.—Deficiency Rs. 14,831. The whole outstanding balance of Rs. 90,646 was on account of current revenue, excepting Rs. 54, and the whole was realized within the first quarter of the succeeding year, except Rs. 1,849 current revenue.

*Purneah*.—Deficiency Rs. 47,064. The deficiency is much more than accounted for by an item of Rs. 60,084 due from a single estate, the sale of which was reversed. The estate was re-sold, and the whole amount recovered, within the second quarter of the succeeding year, within which period also the entire outstanding balance of Rs. 3,83,296 was realized, excepting Rs. 2,333.

*Balasore and Cuttack*.—Deficiency, Balasore Rs. 27,066, Cuttack Rs. 22,680. The sales in these districts are held only half-yearly, and it was expected that the whole outstanding amounts would be realized in the course of the second quarter of the succeeding year, in the course of which such sales as might be necessary were to take place. The Cuttack province not being permanently settled, a less vigorous system of sales prevails, under the provisions of Act I. of 1845, than in the permanently settled districts. The Board are in correspondence with the Government on the subject of altering the system in Cuttack, and assimilating it more to that in force elsewhere.

*Bulhuah*.—Deficiency Rs. 58,954. In this district the whole outstanding balance, except Rs. 1,774, current revenue, was realized within the first quarter of the succeeding year.

*Chittagong*.—Deficiency Rs. 10,758. The entire balance outstanding at the close of the first quarter of the succeeding year, was not more than Rs. 11,628, two-thirds of which was nominal, and required only to be adjusted in account.

*Tipperah*.—Deficiency Rs. 49,748. In this district, Rs. 16,477 remained still unrealized at the end of the first quarter of the succeeding year, without any sufficient reason, which was duly noticed to the Collector at the time.

And again, as to estates sold:—

Three hundred and fifty estates more were sold in the year of report, than in the previous year. The increase was in the Patna, Dacca and Murshedabad divisions, but chiefly in the divisions of Bhaugulpore and Chittagong. In the Cuttack division, the number was less; and in Jeesore, nearly the same as in the preceding year. The average jumma sold was

about one-half of that sold in the preceding year, indicating that though the number of sales was greater, the mehals sold were of smaller extent. The proportion of the jumma sold to the whole revenue demand was less by one-third in the year of report, being 9 annas, 9 pie and a quarter. The proportion sold in the Murshedabad, Dacca, Patna and Chittagong divisions was greater, and in the other divisions it was less, but in no division, except Patna and Bhaugulpore, was it so high as to deserve notice. The price realized was more than quintuple of the rental or jumma, whereas it was only three and a half times the jumma the previous year. The price realized was about the same in the Dacca division, little more in the Cuttack division, considerably more in the Bhaugulpore division, and double in the Patna division; but in the Chittagong division it was somewhat less, and considerably less in the Jessor and Murshedabad divisions. The lowness of the price is particularly apparent in the districts of Jessor, Nuddea and 24-Pergunnahs, in the Jessor division, the districts of Pubna and Rajshahye, in the Murshedabad division, and the districts of Bulliah and Tipperah in the Chittagong division. In the districts of Jessor, Nuddea, Pubna and Bulliah, the purchases on account of Government of deteriorated estates at nominal prices, probably affects the total sale price, but the cause of the low price obtained in the 24-Pergunnahs, Tipperah and Rajshahye, is not so apparent. In none of these districts was the number of mehals sold, or the number purchased by individuals, remarkable; nor was either the jumma sold, or the demand for the realization of which sale was had recourse to, such as to attract particular notice.

We must now take leave of this part of the subject, and regret that we have neither time nor space to follow the author through many other topics of equal interest and importance. On one point we are, however, slightly at issue with him, and that is the value of the time spent in "college," as it is termed. On this we are told (p. 268) :—

At the commencement of the career of the young civilian in India, the Government have a very ingenious plan for at once fully developing, and it may be, expending all his bad qualities. It is judged that he must read the languages to fit him for the public service. He therefore remains for a time "in college," as it is called—that is to say, he lives and amuses himself as he likes in Calcutta (Madras, or Bombay, as the case may be); and once a month, if he find no convenient excuse, drives to the college (the shade of that established by Lord Wellesley, now let out for merchants' warehouses) to give the examiner there an opportunity of ascertaining how he is getting on; but for the first year at least he is literally not any way required to do any thing. On the contrary, he is allowed for passing many times longer than is necessary. Calcutta is an extremely pleasant, gay, and expensive place; he receives within a fraction the same pay as a working assistant; has always at the first a certain amount of credit; and there are glorious traditions of the doings of former days, when the service was a service, and a few thousand pounds of debt was a trifle. The privilege of remaining to enjoy all this, instead of being forthwith banished to a remote up-country station, depends on not passing; and being for the first time their own masters, all who are either naturally fast, or have any lurking propensities that way, capable of being developed by judicious temptation, stay in Calcutta as long as they can, lead an idle dissipated

life, and get into debt, not, as of old, when native bankers trusted them to any amount—that magnificent credit has gone by—but they go to banks and money-lenders. A. goes security for B., B. for C., and C. again for A. They get money on usurious terms, and sufficiently into debt to interfere very seriously with their future prospects, for fast men seldom turn good managers, and, promotion being slow and pay diminished, they do not soon get clear.

The time allowed for passing, may admit of curtailment, and the test of qualification of being improved, but we deny that a residence in Calcutta inevitably entails a load of debt on the young civilian, and we must not forget that there are worse temptations, more lasting evils, and more contaminating influences to be encountered at "remote up-country stations," than at the metropolis of India. The expense of Calcutta, it is not incumbent for every body to incur. The pleasantness of its residence, consists in the very legitimate advantage of good houses, interchange of ideas, and choice of society. The gay doings, beyond a few evening parties in the cold weather, and some admirable amateur concerts, are comprised in those huge dinner parties, which are fortunately not now so much in vogue as they once were, and which remind us of Talleyrand's satire on Geneva. "*Géneve est ennuy'euse ; n'est ce pas ?*" said a friend to him. "*Surlout quand on s'y amuse,*" was the reply. The young civilian of the present day may live with a friend, or relative, or with companions of the same tastes and pursuits as himself, without invariably leading an idle or dissipated life. The College records of the last few years, especially of 1850-51, present us with several notable examples of young men who have taken high honours in the languages of India, current and classical, and who have established a complete mastery over that book learning, which must be an important auxiliary to a good knowledge of the colloquial, and which, certainly, could not be so well attained by any other system, at a more advanced period of the service, or in any other place. The advantage, too, of having a fair sprinkling of orientalists in the covenanted service, is not to be under-rated, although we attach paramount importance to familiarity with the vernacular, so repeatedly and so justly insisted on. Again, we must not lose sight of the good effects of bringing young men, who are to fill responsible situations in the country, in contact, not only with the seniors of their own profession, who are congregated at Calcutta, but with enlightened members of different professions, with the most enterprising of the mercantile community; with all the talent and the acumen of the English Bar. That society will be most liberal in thought and action, which is composed of a variety of ele-

ments, where the leading members are not solely the ornaments of the mess-room or the cutcherry, but are, some of them, men who have attained to eminence in various walks of life. Men who affect to sneer at the restricted and narrow views taken by residents within the Mahratta ditch, forget that a figurative "ditch" inevitably surrounds all those who are too much shut up in one social circle, whose conversation is confined to discussions with others who have been employed all day in exactly the same pursuits, who know nothing of the healthy friction of opinions, and cannot sympathise with the bustling energy of men devoted to other aims than their own. Can it really be thought that the best way of opening the mind of a young man of nineteen or twenty, would be to banish him to an up-country station immediately on his arrival? Is it right that the dispositions, predilections, steadiness of character or otherwise, of the dozen civilians who annually report their arrival as members of the Bengal establishment, should be known to no one of the leading functionaries of Government, by which they are afterwards to be employed, to no one of the heads of society? We are ready to make every allowance for the danger of the peculiar kind of temptation to which a young man is exposed, for the space of a year, in Calcutta. He may buy expensive horses. He may spend more than he ought in jewellery. He may waste his time. But, supposing, on the other hand, that he does think it incumbent on him to do something for his pay and allowances, he will have such opportunities in the metropolis, as he will find no where else. Here are good native scholars in all the languages in use on this side of India. Many of the men, who have acquired any distinction in any one branch of his own service, are assembled here. He may consult men who have been crack collectors, revered judges, and magistrates well versed in the intricacies of provincial crime. He may be kept straight by the general opinion and example of society, large, influential, and comprehensive enough to have considerable weight on individuals, and not large enough for units to become absolutely invisible. If climate proves inimical to his constitution, as is often the case during the first year of residence, when the test is most severe, he has the proximity of the ablest and most experienced of the medical service. If he is to keep up his English ideas of reverence for the Sabbath, he finds Churches rising in every direction, frequented by a community amongst whose failings a want of regard for sacred observances, or a want of substantial charity, is not to be numbered. Taking then the chances of temptation and check, we are

content to see young men run their career in Calcutta. But all the above would Mr. Campbell and others do away with, if we are to attach meaning to his observation that the collegian, when appointed assistant to a magistrate and collector, commences the education which he should have received at first? He would apparently deport every man on his arrival, to the society of the half-dozen individuals who compose a Mofussil station, to be subjected to every variety of training which fancy can suggest, and to learn forms before he knows things. No doubt a colloquial knowledge of the languages will not be attained within the walls of Fort William College. But there are other points to be considered in aiming at efficiency, besides conversational fluency, and there is no reason why a man should eventually speak the language less correctly and grammatically, because when in college he has translated the *Bagh-o-Bahar* with accuracy, and turned into very fair Bengali a piece of good English prose. The same reasons which make Calcutta the fittest place for the residence of a Legislative Council, its wealth and size, its various professions, its number of liberal-minded inhabitants, all of which have been repeatedly set forth, by all the powers of reason and language, whenever it is gravely announced that the seat of Government is about to be translated to the North West Frontier—make it also the best place for the previous location of every young civilian attached to this Presidency, whether his future lot shall be to preside over Panches, or to keep lawless and powerful zemindars in check, or to spear hog on the vast *churs* of Eastern Bengal, or to kill tigers in the Rohilkund Terai. It is not the mere presence of an English statesman and four reverend councillors, with a staff of secretaries, that invests Calcutta with its importance as a metropolis, but it is the variety of information there attainable; the bustle and activity of its divers professions, its eloquent bar and its free discussion, which make Calcutta the fittest place for the deliberations of the Supreme Government of India. Where the heads of society are well and judiciously located, there can be no great harm in placing in that locality its junior members. This is different from re-assembling the *disjecta membra* of Haileybury in an Oriental college in Tank-square, or from isolating a young man from all his contemporaries, by a summary deportation to the Mofussil. The present system, which prevents a second fusion of combustible elements into one mould, and does not re-unite all the turbulent spirits from quarters C and B at Haileybury in the buildings in Tank-square, in proximity perilous to the peace of

its inhabitants, but which at the same time retains every one within the pale of society, appears to us, though liable to sundry obvious improvements, exactly to have hit the happy medium.

In all that Mr. Campbell says, about the deficient training of the service, of the intimate connection between the civilian's pursuits, amusements, and duties, of the aptitude for business, which is generated by the gradual systematic education enforced in every department, and of the opening for improvement in the judicial system, we entirely concur. We stand in astonishment at the complete transformation effected in men, who formerly were notorious at Haileybury for disturbing the rest of its professors, for breaking lamps, for spending their whole time in visits to Ware or Hertford, for devoting themselves exclusively to cricket or boating, for being plucked as often as was consistent with the retention of their appointment. Those men, to our knowledge, are now steady, active, and efficient: retaining just so much of the restless energy of their earlier days, as is necessary to make them successful as quellers of crime, or collectors of revenue.

The following extracts are favorable specimens of the author's style. Here is first a pregnant summary of Mr. Thomason's administration and its merits, due credit being given previously to Lord Ellenborough, for having selected a Lieutenant-Governor possessed of sufficient experience, and yet not too old to prevent his doing long and good service. Mr. Campbell gives to Mr. Thomason's executive administration this just, gratifying, and appropriate tribute:—

By personal supervision, he has very much increased the efficiency of all officers, European and native, introduced method and energy in all departments, completed and worked to the best advantage the new settlement of the North-Western Provinces, defined and explained the rights of different parties in the soil, improved the efficiency of the police, done what was in his power to make the most of a vicious judicial system, applied himself to the Vernacular education of the masses of the natives, and given to the upper classes opportunities of acquiring practical science, carried out important public works, made good roads and canals, rendered travelling easy and secure, regulated the mode of procuring supplies and carriage for troops, and superintended, with personal knowledge and personal energy, all the minute details of civil government, only understood by those who have made it a profession.

The occurrence of a burglary, its discovery, the subsequent enquiry thereinto, the advent of the darogah—not as is too often the case in Bengal in a palanquin, hours after the robbery—the report to the magistrate couched in the choicest Oriental phraseology, are thus described. There is a touch of

humour in the whole thing, which is too good to be omitted, though it is probable that some of our readers may have seen the extract we are about to give, quoted in some of the English papers. It has a grave humour in it, which reminds us of some parts of *Eothen* :—

Jilall, shopkeeper, gets up in the morning, finds a hole in his wall, and all his moveables gone ; whereat he laments exceedingly, and, raising a great outcry, summons the watchman and the Punch. The watchman declares that it is most extraordinary ; he kept watch all night, but saw no thief. The Punch observes that they are very sorry,—by all means send for the police ; so the watchman is despatched to the inspector. Meantime Jilall, seeing that he is not likely to get much satisfaction if he trusts to other people, himself sets to work in earnest. He has probably influence and connection in the village, and, knowing the right person to apply to, pays something handsome for information, acting on which, with the assistance of the Punch, he secures a small boy, supposed to be mixed up in the affair, and lays an embargo on two or three suspected houses. By this time arrives Mahomed Khan, the police darogah, a handsome burly Mohammedan, mounted on a comfortable-looking pony, with a distinguished-looking turban of extravagant proportions, several daggers in his belt, and a posse of followers. Now if (as very frequently happens) no clue had been found, and the case had seemed a hopeless one, Mahomed Khan would have set forth in his report a dozen excellent reasons to show that Jilall never was robbed at all, but made a hole in his own wall, in order to defraud his creditors ; and would have varied the barrenness of his statements with many excellent Persian and Arabic aphorisms and observations on the faithlessness of shopkeepers in general, and of Jilall in particular. In this instance, however, finding that a clue has been obtained, he probably goes about the case actively. The suspected houses are searched, and the "Khan ji" has a private interview with the small boy, the result of which is that some of the property is found, and the boy consents to name his associates. "Dours," or flying parties, are sent off to pounce on the distant rendezvous of the principal burglars ; they are apprehended, and the whole affair comes to light. Mahomed Khan, probably, takes this opportunity of despatching by express to the magistrate, the following report, or "petition," as it is called in oriental phraseology :—

"Cherisher of the poor, your good fortune is great. You will have learnt from yesterday's diary, that upon hearing of the burglary in the house of Jilall, shopkeeper, your slave, girding up his loins, set off determined to discover the criminals, or return with his face blackened for ever. Not through any merit of this humble one, but solely through the favour of God and the overpowering good fortune of your worship, the efforts of the lowest of your slaves have been crowned with success, and "Inshallattallah" (please God) the thieves shall be rooted out from the face of the earth. Your slave, immediately on his arrival, adopted a thousand devices and deep stratagems, and expended a large sum from his own pocket in bringing informers, and with intense difficulty insinuated himself into their confidence, so great was his desire to gain your approval. But not to these persevering efforts of your slave, simply to your fortunate star, is due the discovery of a clue to the perpetrators of the crime.

"Your slave, being thoroughly acquainted with all the bad characters, apprehended a desperate burglar and so managed him, that through your good fortune he gave a further clue, and eventually (the efforts of your slave

being unremitting) six burglars and two receivers have been seized, and the whole of the property recovered, except some few articles, which Jilall doubtless inserted in the list from a mere spirit of exaggeration. It is impossible at this moment to furnish a detailed report, therefore I despatch this preliminary petition for your information. The regular report, with the parties, the prisoners and the property, will be sent in to-morrow morning. Your fortune is invincible. The petition of your humble slave,

"MOHAMMED KHAN,  
'Thanahdar.'

Doubtless the Magistrate is duly impressed with belief that the good fortune, so often referred to, consists in the possession of so invaluable a treasure as Mohammed Khan

We strongly recommend the above passage to the notice of the members of the Bengal British India Association. Instead of making out a catalogue of imaginary grievances, or representing themselves as the suffering people of India, or framing absurd constitutions for the future Government of the country, they had much better be employed in looking after their estates, and in trying to infuse into their ryots or the bunnahabs of their large bazaars, something of the spirit of our friend Jilall.

We have room only for one more extract. It relates to the duties of a civilian in the Upper Provinces, where the offices of magistrate and collector are united in the same individual, and so united, have been found to work well there, because the arrangement is suited to the character of the people, the features of the revenue administration, the comparative absence of litigation, and the moderate amount of crime. It is precisely because the normal features of Bengal Proper are of a totally different character, that the junction of the two offices never has wrought well, and never can work well, in the Lower Provinces, and we have, by degrees, got rid of this unsuitable alliance, and divorced the man who is to capture dacoits and organize the police, from the man who is to look after the estates of minors, the revenue of Government, and the treasury accounts. But the details of a camp-life in the cold season, the municipal improvements, the pertinacious old woman, the morning ride, and the police reports, are pretty much the same in both divisions of the presidency. The cavalry grass-cutters, the camels, and the inspector of prisons, are all peculiar to the Upper Provinces, and the latter officer, when there is one in Bengal, will have plenty to do in visiting the district jails and introducing into them something like an amended system of prison labour:—

The chief station of the magistrate and collector is usually near the most important town in, and as central as possible to, the district. Here are his head-quarters, and here he spends the season unfavourable for marching,

except when emergencies arise. But from the nature of his duties it is by no means desirable that he should be stationary ; and every cold season he goes into camp (as it is called), pitches his tents, leaves the current duties of the chief station with one of his subordinates, and, taking with him a sufficient portion of his establishment, he marches about, pitches for a few days here and a few days there, sees all that is going on, and attends to local matters. His manner of life is a pleasant one, and leads all to take an interest in their work. When he is at head-quarters, his mode of passing his time may be something in this wise. People rise early in India, and ride a great deal, so he is probably out on horseback ; but he generally combines business with exercise ; he has improvements going on, roads making, bridges building, streets paving, canals cutting, a dispensary, a nursery garden, &c., &c. He may look in at his jail, and see what work the prisoners are doing, or at his city police stations to see what is going on there, or enter out upon an outlying patrol, or go to see the locality of a difficult case. Every one he meets has something to say to him ; for in India every one has, or has had, or is about to have, some case, or grievance, or project, or application, of which he takes every occasion of disburthening himself whenever the magistrate is in sight ; and the old woman whose claim to a water-spout was decided against her years ago, but who persists in considering her case the most intolerable in the whole world, takes the opportunity for the hundredth time of seizing his bridle, casting herself under the horse's feet, and clamorously demanding either instant death or a restitution of her rights. Though he has not time to listen to all, he may pick up a good deal from the general tenor of the unceasing fire of language which is directed at him as he passes. He probably knows the principal heads of villages, or merchants, or characters in different lines, and this is the great time for talk with them. If anything of interest is to be discussed, they obtain admittance to his garden, where he sips his cup of tea under his vine and fig-tree on his return from his ride. Then come the reports from the tehsildars and police inspectors for the previous day ; those from the outlying stations having come in during the night. These are all read, and orders briefly recorded ; the police-inspector of the town, and perhaps other native officers, may be in attendance with personal explanations or representations ; and all this done, the sorishtadar bundles up the papers, and retires to issue the orders passed, and prepare for the regular work in court, while the magistrate goes to breakfast. At breakfast comes the post and packet of official letters. The Commissioner demands explanation on this matter, and transmits a paper of instructions from Government on that ; the Judge calls for cases which have been appealed ; the Secretary to Government wants some statistical information ; the inspector of prisoners fears that the prisoners are growing too fat ; the commander of the 150th regiment begs to state that his regiment will halt at certain places on certain days, and that he requires a certain quantity of flour, grain, hay, and eggs ; Mr. Snooks, the Indigo-planter, who is in a state of chronic warfare with his next neighbour, has submitted his grievances in six folio sheets, indifferent English, and a bold hand, and demands instant redress, failing which, he threatens the magistrate with Government, the Supreme Court, an aspersion of his honour as a gentleman, a Parliamentary impeachment, a letter to the newspapers, and several other things besides. After breakfast he despatches his public letters, writes reports, examines returns, &c.

During this time he has, probably, a succession of demi-officials from the neighbouring cantonments. There is a great complaint that the villagers

have utterly, without provocation, broken the hoods of the cavalry grass-cutters, and the grass-cutters are sent to be looked at. He goes out to look at them, but no sooner appears, than a shout announces that the villagers are waiting in a body, with a slightly different version of the story, to demand justice against the grass-cutters, who have invaded their grass preserves, despoiled their village, and were with difficulty prevented from murdering the inhabitants. So the case is sent to the joint magistrate. But there are more notes; some want camels, some carts, and all apply to the magistrate: then there may be natives of rank and condition, who come to pay a serious formal kind of visit, and generally want something, or a chatty native official, who has plenty to say for himself.

All this despatched, he orders his carriage or umbrella, and goes to Cut-cherry—his regular court. Here he finds a sufficiency of business: there are police and revenue and miscellaneous cases of all sorts, appeals from the orders of his subordinates, charges of corruption or misconduct against native officials. All petitions from all persons are received daily in a box, read, and orders duly passed. Those setting forth good grounds of complaint are filed under proper headings; others are rejected, for written reason assigned. After sunset comes his evening, which is probably, like his morning ride, mixed up with official and demi-official affairs, and only at dark does the wearied magistrate retire to dinner and to private life.

We must now conclude an imperfect review of a really valuable work; but we should be wanting in our duty as reviewers, were we not to notice a few errors of fact into which the author has fallen. In page 15, we are told that Akbar was born "while his father Baber was a fugitive." The father of the greatest of Mohammedan Emperors was not Baber, but Humayun, the old gentleman whose death was caused by a fall from a terrace. Baber was the grandfather of Akbar, and many of our readers must, no doubt, be familiar with the Memoirs of Baber, translated and published about twenty-eight years ago, in which the numerous adventures, the drinking bouts, and the history of the fugitive king's boon companions, are detailed with a comic gravity, peculiar to the merry monarch of the East. In page 150, and also in page 104, we are told, that the families of former Nawabs of Bengal, receive allowances amounting to nine lakhs of rupees a year, over and above the sixteen lakhs, which is assigned to the present Nawab Nazim. The very contrary is the case. Both the present Nawab, and the families of former Nawabs, are paid out of the same sum of sixteen lakhs, the relatives and dependants getting about nine lakhs, and His Highness consuming about six lakhs to himself, an income double that assigned to the Prince consort, and equal to that possessed by many of the first peers of the English realm. In the figured statement in page 157, we read of petty states on the North Eastern Frontier of Bengal, thirty-one in number. This is entirely new to us. Beyond the little district of Cachar, which

was a fortunate lapse to the State in 1830, and the agency in the Cossiah hills, we know of no petty states whatever on the North East Frontier. The little principality of Koch Behar, of which an account was lately given in the printed Selections of the Government of Bengal, is independent internally, though it pays to Government a yearly tribute of 66,000 rupees. But we find no notice in Mr. Campbell's book, of this state, which contains some of the choicest localities for tiger and rhinoceros, in this part of India, or of Darjeeling, with the tract lately taken from the Rajah of Sikkim. We conclude that the mistake has arisen from some confusion between the petty states under the Agent to the Governor-General on the South West Frontier, and the petty states known as the Tributary Mehals, under the Commissioner of Cuttack. The former are alluded to in Mr. Campbell's tabular statement, the latter are not. The former comprise a number of wild, jungly, hilly, and uncultivated districts, which extend in one direction to Berar and the Trunk Line to Bonbay, and in another almost to Mirzapore and the Saugor and Nerbudda valley. A full account of the latter, or the Tributary Mehals, which are eighteen in number, may be found in No. III. of the printed Selections from the records of the Bengal Government, with all the particulars which the ripe experience of such officers as Mr. Mills and Mr. Ricketts can supply. Few states are more remarkable in their way, than both the above. Secure in their fastnesses, inaccessible in their situation, and holding out no temptations to the cupidity of invaders, their petty sovereigns have remained unmolested for centuries. With the exception of the Mahrattas, whose petulant activity surmounted all obstacles, no conqueror has thought it worth while to over-run these tracts, and they figure consequently but little in history. The antiquity of these Rajas if we are to believe the family genealogies, is something extraordinary, and we have been told of one chief who numbers fifty, and of another who numbers eighty predecessors. What to this is the pedigree of the oldest English families, if we estimate them only by the number of their stemmata?

A remarkable error occurs in page 223, where Mr. Campbell is discussing the powers entrusted to the subordinate Governments, that is, to the Governments of Madras, Bombay, Agra and Bengal, who are all on an equality in this respect. After stating that they cannot add one farthing to their fixed permanent establishment, (nor even to their temporary establishments, Mr. Campbell might have added,) we are told that they have been authorised by the Supreme Government to incur con-

tingent expenses "not exceeding 5,000 rupees, or £500, for any one object." Now we hear a great and very just outcry against the system of Indian centralization, which delegates little or nothing to subordinates, though men of long standing and experience; but there is no use in making out things to be worse than they actually are. The sum which Lord Falkland, or Sir H. Pottinger, or Mr. Thomason, or Lord Dalhousie, as Governor of Bengal, may spend on local objects, on bridges, roads, public buildings, and other works, is just double the amount stated above—10,000 rupees. These are the main errors of fact which have attracted our observation on a perusal of the volume; and we trust that Mr. Campbell may have an opportunity of amending them and a few trifling misprints, and of omitting some rather smart remarks about the Supreme Court, in a new edition of his work, at an early date.

We could have wished to have journeyed with Mr. Campbell over other tracts of India, besides Bengal and Calcutta, to which we have mostly restricted ourselves in entering into particulars, and we should have discussed with pleasure, in company, many other topics of real interest, such as the extent of education in Missionary and Government schools, the absence of official publicity, the seniority system, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the detection of crime. On the latter point, especially, there are some very valuable remarks, which it is quite refreshing to read, after the theories which have been poured forth on this agitated question; theories the more crude and impracticable, because of the acknowledged difficulty of dealing with the subject. But we must leave all this to others, in the hope that our notice may introduce many readers of temper and judgment to take up a work, into which is condensed as much valuable information as to *Modern India* and its Government, as any volume, or select report, has ever managed to contain. Mr. Campbell, we understand, after employing his leisure time in the toils of authorship, is now holding a legal situation of some emolument and responsibility, under his relative, the Lord Chief Justice of England, and is reading Law. He could not study English Law to better advantage than under the great authority of Lord Campbell, who has ever shown himself a successful advocate, a consistent politician, a revered judge, and an enlightened law-reformer. While other civilians at home on furlough, are seeking healthful recreation on the moors or in the stubble fields, or enjoying a life at the clubs in Town, or in a tour on the Continent, are visiting every object of interest which may give activity to the intellect and

refinement to the taste, Mr. Campbell, though we would not deter him from any of the above enjoyments, is gradually and steadily adding to his stock of experience, and examining the working of a different system of jurisprudence, to that of Abu Hanifah and other Mohammedan doctors. We have no doubt that Mr. Campbell will most carefully avoid the fault against it which he himself warns the Company's Judges, that of imagining that law consists "in a blind adherence to technicalities," and that the English lore he may acquire, will be acquired on the principles of Rolle, of Blackstone, and of Hale. Not cramming precedents, studying law, not as a man who wishes to become an advocate by the shortest route possible, not as a person stimulated to activity by the sharp spur of want, but cultivating it as a science or a healthy exercise of the intellect, he may return to India, with a temporary dislike of all unsuitable forms and intolerant English ideas, and with an admiration for all that is valuable and excellent in the great science, its broad comprehensiveness, its analytical spirit, its adaptation to new combinations of fact, and its systematic reverence for prescription, symmetry, and right.

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